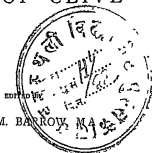




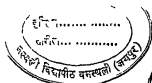
MACAULAY'S  
LIFE OF CLIVE

CECIL M. BARROW



LONDON  
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1895

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LIFE OF  
EXECUTIVE  
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

CECIL M. BARROW, M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF VICTORIA COLLEGE, PALGHAT.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY was born on October 25th, 1800, at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire. His father, Zachary Macaulay, an African merchant, was one of those by whose exertions the slave trade was abolished and the negroes in our colonies emancipated. After being educated at a private school, Macaulay, in his nineteenth year, entered Trinity College, Cambridge. Here his career was brilliant. He gained the Craven Scholarship, and subsequently a Fellowship at Trinity. After contributing a few unimportant articles to the *Magazines* he may be said to have commenced his literary career by his celebrated article on Milton published in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1824. This article, though justly condemned by his own maturer taste as gaudy, attracted great attention at the time. He subsequently published many papers, literary, historical and speculative, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

In 1826 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, but he never practised. In 1830 he entered Parliament as member for Colne. He took an active part in the great debates on the Reform Bills of 1831-32. At the end of 1832 he was returned member for Leeds, one of the towns enfranchised by the Bill. Throughout life he was a consistent Whig, seldom, if ever, during his life altering his opinion on any political question. In 1834, he accepted an appointment in India as member of the Supreme Council and President of the Law Commission, and sailed for Madras on 15th February 1834. He reached Madras on

10th June 1834, and proceeded to Ootacamund, where the then Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, was detained at the time by ill health.

The Penal Code of India owes much to Macaulay's labours. To him, also, India mainly owes the higher education of to-day, and to him, mainly, the scheme under which the Civil Servants of India are chosen. He returned to England in 1838. In 1840 he became Member for Edinburgh, which city rejected him in 1847 for his views about the Catholics. In 1852 she made amends by returning him again without solicitation or expense on his part. In 1856 he resigned from failing health. In 1857 he was raised to the Peerage, solely on account of his literary distinction. He died on 28th December 1859, and was buried in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey.

Macaulay has made no contributions to the theory of criticism,—none to philosophy. His mind, with all its rich endowments, was unsuited for pure speculation (*cf.* his *Essay on Bacon*). Even in politics his reasoning is entirely historical. He is more of a rhetorician, in short, than a thinker. His works fall into three classes—Poems, Essays, and History. A few fragments of Tales, &c., are not included.

1. POEMS.—Macaulay's Poems are chiefly in the ballad form. A few lyrics and satirical party songs need only be mentioned. The *Lays of Ancient Rome*, designed as an imitation of the Roman ballads of which nothing but fragments now remain,—if it would not be more correct to say that the fragments themselves have perished,—must be considered as really an imitation of the Old English ballad. These *Lays* reproduce with great success the energy, fire, and rapidity of the old ballads. They are very striking and effective, but they are imitations after all, and they bear continual traces of the difficulty which a man of culture and scholarship experiences in attempting the style of the ignorant unlettered. They are brilliant rhetorical exercises, but they lack the simplicity, the reality, the humour and the pathos of the genuine ballads of England.

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The excessive minutiae of details and allusions, and the continual use of the particular for the general in description, are flaws common both to Macaulay's prose and his poetry

2 *ESSAYS*—Of the *Essays*, the historical are much the most valuable, the others are often interesting chiefly for the historical sketches they contain. Cottle Morrison says of them—"Macaulay's *Essays* remain a brilliant and fascinating page in English literature. The world is never persistently mistaken in such cases. Time enough has elapsed, since their publication, to submerge them in oblivion had they not contained a vital spark of genius which criticism is powerless to extinguish. If not wells of original knowledge, they have acted like irrigating mills which convey and distribute the fertilizing waters from the fountain head. The best would adorn any literature, and even the less successful have a picturesque animation, and convey an impression of power that will not easily be matched.

Of the two great Indian essays he writes—"Very different (from his essays on the Pitts) are the two famous Indian articles on Clive and Warren Hastings. In these we find no Attic severity of diction, but all the pomp and splendour of Asiatic eloquence. It is not unsuitable to the occasion, a somewhat gorgeous magnificence is not out of place in the East. There is no need to dwell on pieces so universally and justly popular. They belong, it need not be said, to his second and better manner, the rhetoric, though proud and high stepping enough, is visibly under restraint, and amenable to the curb. There was a particular reason why Macaulay was so successful in the articles on the two Pitts and the two Indian Proconsuls. They were men whose character he could thoroughly understand and largely admire."\*

3 *HISTORY*—His *History*, though a fragment, is beyond comparison his greatest work. It has enjoyed a popularity, greater perhaps than any other historical work ever acquired.

\* *Life of Macaulay*, Ch. iii p. 83 (edition of 1889)

Macaulay's powers are here seen at their best. His unbounded knowledge of historical details, his imaginative power of fusing these details into one picture, his brilliancy of style, his lucid statement, his power of exciting and sustaining interest make his history unique in its class. The style is subdued and chastened, without losing any of the energy and splendour to be found in the *Essay*.

The following are the chief dates in Macaulay's life —

- BIRTH, October 25, 1800
- ADMISSION TO CAMBRIDGE, 1818
- CONNECTION WITH EDINBURGH REVIEW, 1825-1844
- ENTRANCE TO PARLIAMENT, 1830
- SPEECHES ON THE REFORM BILL, 1831
- MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA, 1833
- PUBLICATION OF INDIAN PENAL CODE, 1837
- RETURN TO ENGLAND, 1838
- SECRETARISHIP OF WAR 1839
- LOSS OF SEAT IN PARLIAMENT, 1847
- PUBLICATION OF FIRST PART OF HISTORY, 1848.
- ELEVATION TO PEERAGE, 1857
- DEATH, December 28, 1859

## LORD CLIVE.

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We have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should even among ourselves excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish bones, who regarded a horse soldier as a monster half man and half beast who took a harquebuser for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show

bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astounded the Great Captain. It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any  
 30 interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not only insipid but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Ome, inferior to no English  
 40 historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is, that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that the volumes before us\* will not much attract those readers whom Ome and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm  
 50 by the late Lord Powis were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skilfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticise with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation and by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest

\* The Life of Robert, Lord Clive, collected from the Family Papers communicated by the Earl of Powis. By Major General Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1835.

allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished so and of those who have digested the materials is, on the whole greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened view of his whole career must admit that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market Drayton in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First, this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr Richard Clive who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law and divided his time between professional business and the avocations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year, and from these letters it appears that even at that early age his strong will and his fiery passions sustained by a constitutional intrepidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to his family. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a



fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." The old people of the neighbourhood still remember to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and halfpence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning, and gaining for himself everywhere the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a fortune or to die of a fever at

120 Madras

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The Company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship

cargoes, and, above all, to keep an eye on private traders who dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt, the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account, and those who lived to rise to the top 140 of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras to which Clive had been appointed, was at this time perhaps the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St George had risen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf, and in the neighbourhood a town inhabited by many thousands of natives had sprung up, as towns sprung up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired 150 after the labours of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health and prolong life were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been per- 160 formed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently, the Anglo Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo Indian of the present day.

Within the fort and its precinct the English exercised, by permission of the native government, an extensive authority, such as every great Indian landowner exercised 170 within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was ruled by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy

of the Deacan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his  
180 ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British Resident gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to ply at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese,  
190 and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to an European only by spacious and well placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him, but when he landed at Fort St George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. The  
200 lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later years. "I have not enjoyed," says he, "one happy day  
210 since I left my native country," and again, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it

affects me in a very particular manner      If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country but more especially Manchester the centre of all my wishes all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view

One solves he found of the most respectable kind The Governor possessed a good library and permitted Clive to have access to it The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed As a boy he had been too idle as a man he soon became too busy for literary pursuits

But neither climate nor poverty neither study nor the sorrows of a home and exile could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters and was several times in danger of losing his situation Twice while reading in the Writers Buildings he attempted to destroy himself and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off This circumstance it is said affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded he burst forth into an exclamation that surely he was reserved for some thing great

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence Europe had been during some years distracted by the war of the Austrian succession George the Second was the steady ally of Maria Theresa The house of Bourbon took the opposite side Though England was even then the first of maritime powers she was not as she has since become more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together and she found it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy Labourdonnais governor of Mauritius a man of eminent talents and virtues conducted an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the

250 British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up, the French colours were displayed on Fort St George, and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conqueror. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

260 But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman Duplex, governor of Pondicherry. Duplex moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers, that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone, and that Madras should be ceded to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger which  
270 the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Duplex treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St George were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was, with reason, thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the  
280 town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman and took refuge at Fort St David, one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his restless and intrepid spirit than the business of examining packages and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty

one entrance on his military career. His personal courage of which he had while still a writer given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror 280 of Fort St David speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him—judgment vigour defence to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between 290 Great Britain and France. Duplex was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his deal. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new 300 aspect. There was peace between the English and French Crowns but there was between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of 310 Hindostan amazed even travellers who had seen St Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from

the Mogul, ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany or the  
 330 Elector of Savoy.

There can be little doubt that this great empire powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tranted with all the vices of Oriental despotism, and with all the vices inseparable from the dominion of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes  
 340 resorted to independence. Peace tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite however, of much constant misadministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But, throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that the  
 350 vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without, co-operated with an incurable decay which was first proceeding within, and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

3 The history of the successors of Theodorus bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps the fall of the Carolingians furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne  
 360 was severely intemperate when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing

more than a nominal dignity was left to the object-hens of an illustrious name, Charles the Bold, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language, and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the furthest corners of the earth to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages 370 from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine. The Hungarian, in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognised the Gog or Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depths of the Pannoman forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great 380 body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense, and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses, and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on 390 the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi and bore away in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock Throne 400 on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed.



by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilkund. The Sikhs ruled on the  
 410 Indus. The Jats spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles yielded only to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains, and, soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were  
 420 entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Guahar, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle and fled with his wife and children to the mountains  
 430 or the jungles to the midday neighbourhood of the hyana and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black mail. The camp fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify

Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar, and the name of 440  
the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but inde- 450  
pendent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains and to lead the hardy tribes 460  
of Cibal and Chorasán against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas, would compel Mahratta and Mohammedan to forget their mutual feuds in common subjection, would tame down even those wild races which 470  
had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls, and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes dictate terms of peace at the gates of Agra, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar.

The man who first saw that it was possible to found in

European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was  
 Duplex. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had  
 480 formed this scheme at a time when the ablest servants of  
 the English Company were busied only about invoices and  
 bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the  
 end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by  
 which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the  
 greatest force which the princes of India could bring into  
 the field would be no match for a small body of men trained  
 in the discipline, and guided by the tactics of the West.  
 He saw also that the natives of India might, under Euro-  
 pean commanders, be formed into armies such as Saxe or  
 490 Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly  
 aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an  
 European adventurer could overcase sovereignty in India,  
 was to govern the motions and to speak through the mouth  
 of some glittering puppet, dignified by the title of Nabob or  
 Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few  
 years later were employed with such signal success by  
 the English, were first understood and practised by this  
 ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggres-  
 500 sion could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in  
 recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncer-  
 tainty, and the Europeans, who took part in the disputes  
 of the natives, confounded the confusion by applying to  
 Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies  
 drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to  
 treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an  
 excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact.  
 If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the  
 Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty, for he was so in  
 510 theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an  
 hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only or  
 as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the  
 Mogul arguments and precedents might be found for every  
 one of those views. The party who had the hear of Baber  
 in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the

legitimate the absolute sovereign whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was in fact dissolved and that though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect 520 as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748 died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India the great Nizam al Mulk Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Naoob whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan. 530

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung a grandson of Nizam al Mulk appeared as the competitor of Nazir Jung. Chunda Sahib son in law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganized they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united 540 their interests invaded the Carnatic and applied for assistance to the French whose fame had been raised by their success against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Duplex. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic to make a Viceroy of the Deccan to rule under their names the whole of southern India thus was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders and sent four hundred French soldiers and two thousand sepoye 550 disciplined after the European fashion to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was de-

feated and slain. His son Mahommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly, and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

580 This was but the beginning of the greatness of Duplex. After some months of fighting, negotiation and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed everywhere. Nizam Jung perished by the hands of his own followers. Mirzaphi Jung was master of the Deccan, and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Té Deus* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies, and the ceremony of his installation was performed there with great  
590 pomp. Duplex dressed in the garb worn by Mahomedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and in the pagant which followed took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to that of Chunder Sahib. He was intrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no man would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the  
595 treasures which former Viceroys of the Deccan had accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition unless signed by him was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzaphi Jung survived his elevation only a few months.  
600 But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of

his predecessor Duplex was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which in the short space of four years an European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the unglorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Muzaffar he determined to erect a column on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Duplex. Pithivabad which is, being interpreted the City of the Victory of Duplex.

610

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of Trichinopoly alone, and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chanda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England, and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St George, they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of Pondicherry, they had seen the arms and counsels of Duplex everywhere successful while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an

630 obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune

Clive was now twenty five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that, unless some vigorous effort were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the house of Anjidey Khan would perish, and the French  
640 would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the favourite residence of the Nibobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupléré, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the  
650 execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoy, armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded this little force under him, only two had ever been in action and four of the eight were factors of the company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy, but Clive pushed on, through thunder lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without  
660 a blow.

But Clive well knew that he should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up walls, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by huge reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men,

encamped close to the town. At dawn of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers whom Duplex despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoy. Only four officers were left, the stock of provisions was scanty, and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five and twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so recently provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination, and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of



691, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came  
 to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to pro-  
 pose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans,  
 who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia.  
 710 The thin gruel, they said, which was shunned away from  
 the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no  
 more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the in-  
 fluence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the government of Madras to relieve  
 the place had failed. But there was hope from another  
 quarter. A body of 11 thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers,  
 half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari  
 Row, had been hired to assist Mohammed Ali, but, think-  
 ing the French power irresistible, and the triumph of  
 720 Chanda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive  
 on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence  
 of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row de-  
 clared that he had never before believed that Englishmen  
 could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he  
 saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Ryah Sahib  
 learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was neces-  
 sary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation.  
 He offered huge bribes to Clive, which were rejected with  
 scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted,  
 730 he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it  
 to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic  
 brightness that his father was an usurper, that his army  
 was a rabble and that he would do well to thank twice  
 before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by  
 English soldiers.

Ryah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day  
 was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the  
 great Mohammedan festival which is vowed to the memory  
 of Hussein, the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains  
 740 nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to  
 that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief  
 of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had perished  
 round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered

his latest prayer, how the assassins culled his herd in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near twelve centuries the recurrence of this solemn season evokes the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of 750 India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some it is said have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rujah Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the 760 attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling 770 on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry the volunteers mounted with great boldness, but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant suc- 780 cession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living

miss below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But, when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

790 The news was received at Fort St George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoy's were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Tanjore, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp, but Clive gained a complete victory. The military  
800 chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoy's who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Ainsce deserted Chundra Sahib, and recognised the title of Mohammed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been intrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incoherency which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally  
810 present, protracted the struggle. The Mahabittis muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this language was that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops appeared almost under the guns of Fort St George, and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of

thousands of natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St David. On the road lay the city of the Victory of Duplex, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be razed to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step not by personal or national intolerance, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the devices by which Duplex had led the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But, just at this conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterised Clive both at school and in the counting house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness, and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant conductor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules.

' Some people,' he wrote, "are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky, but, in my opinion, from the knowledge  
 850 I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out,—a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier, for, without a military education of any sort, as much conversing with any of the profession from his judgment and good sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success'

The French had no commander to oppose to the two  
 870 friends Duplex, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was ill qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice, and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire arms. He was thus under the  
 880 necessity of intrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs, and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Duplex, there was not a single man of capacity, and many of them were boys whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed

890 The English triumphed everywhere. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chundra Sahib fell into the hands of the Mahrattas and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mohammed Ali. The spirit of Duplex, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible

From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned his policy. They gave him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, 900 strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, roused up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side and found tools even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India, and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty, 910 and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly levied sepoy, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the fresh houses of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook 920 to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers, on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well. Clive gradually recustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming 930 a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures

to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French  
 940 commandant capitulated and retired with his men ✓

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished, and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her.

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked  
 950 with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven, yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Duplex had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London, and the rapid turn of fortune, which was chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had  
 960 been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude, unless a similar compliment were paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

970 It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by

his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had become so great a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another, and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son. 880

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize money had fallen to his share, and he had brought home a moderate fortune, part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, 990—a contested election followed by a petition.

At the time of the general election of 1754, the government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic, had been dispersed by his death. 100  
Almost every public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connections might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to deprecate and supplant each other. The prime minister Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most im-



1010 potent members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope, for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them. ✓

Newcastle had set his heart on retaining two members for St Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He 1020 was opposed by Lord Sandwich whose influence had long been paramount there and Fox exerted himself strenuously in Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed by the whole influence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. 1030 Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly that, in election battles, there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, 1040 beat half the buyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the Treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favour. But, when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox. Newcastle the Tories could only

despise. For they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland. After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was that the House by a small majority rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was inserted.

Ejected from Parliament, and straitened in his means he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Duplax had been superseded, 1060 and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand, and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service on which he was employed after his 1070 return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit Clive proceeded to his government of 1080 Fort St David. Before he had been there two months he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the house of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India

- possessed such natural advantages both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges rushing through a hundred channels to the sea has formed a vast plain of rich mould which even under the tropical sky rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices sugar vegetable oils are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the seacoast overgrown by noxious vegetation and swarming with deer and tigers supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises the soil is at the same time the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks and on those of its tributary waters are the wealthiest marts the most splendid capitals and the most varied shames of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot and of the Mahatta freebooter Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful employments bore the same relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion and though voluble in dispute and singularly pertinacious in the war of eloquence he seldom engages in a personal conflict and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never perhaps existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are at Chandernagore on the Hoogly. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. Nearer to the sea the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company lined the banks of the river, and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle abandoned to water fowl and rilligators covered the site of the present Citadel and the Couise, which is now duly crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government, and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Pabna, had long been governed by a viceroy whom the English called Alivardi Khan, and who like the other viceroys of the Mogul had become virtually independent. He died in 1756 and the sovereignty descended to his grandson a youth under twenty years of age who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings, and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the goodwill of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness.

His chosen companions were flatterers sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at the last stage of human depravity when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, when the sight of pain is pain, where no advantage is to be gained no offence punished, no danger dreaded, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds, and, 1170 when he grew up he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so, and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them, and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta had they been even greater than he imagined would not compensate him for what he must lose if the European trade, of which Bengal 1180 was a chief seat should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretences for a quarrel were readily found. The English in expectation of a war with France had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nibob. A rich native whom he longed to plunder had taken refuge at Calcutta and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Duplex to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in 1190 Bengal were still mere traders and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits jumped into a boat and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance, and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nibob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory and ordered Mi

He shall be first in rank among the prisoners to be brought before him. His Highness talked about the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found, but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left at the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking, and being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated, they entreated, but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell who even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the guards. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then

the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the pieces at the windows, fought  
 1240 for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the  
 murderers mollified their agonies. They wept, prayed, blasphemed,  
 implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in  
 the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with  
 laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At  
 length the tumult died away in low gasps and moanings.  
 The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch,  
 and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some  
 time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors  
 by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the  
 1250 burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome  
 work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three  
 ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have  
 known staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A  
 pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and  
 twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously  
 and covered up.

But these things, which, after the lapse of more than  
 eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror,  
 awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the  
 1260 savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the mur-  
 derers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some  
 of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got,  
 were suffered to depart, but those from whom it was  
 thought that anything could be extorted were treated with  
 execrable cruelty. Holwell unable to will, was carried  
 before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and  
 sent him up the country in chains together with some other  
 gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they  
 chose to tell about the treacheries of the Company. These  
 1270 persons still bowed down by the sufferings of that great  
 agony, were lodged in miserable sheds and fed only with  
 gruel and water, till at length the intercessions of the  
 female relations of the Nabob procured them release. One  
 Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in  
 the harem of the Prince at Moosabadabad.

Suryah Dowlah in the meantime sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William forbade Enchahmen to dwell in the neighbourhood and directed that in memory of his great actions Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore that is to say the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hooghly and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry fine troops and full of spirit and fifteen hundred sepoy companies joined the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Lewis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed but it had to make its way against adverse winds and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nizam was revelling in fancied security at Moorsheedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe and it had never occurred to him as possible that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But though undisturbed by any fear of their military power he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hooghly. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorsheedabad and marched towards Calcutta.



Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made  
 1320 overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war, and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs, and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras,  
 1330 apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful, and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans  
 1340 of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman, and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he displayed great ability, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little  
 1350 agree with Mr. Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose,

1840-1841. Give seems to us to have been constitutionally the very opposite of a knave bold even to testify sincerely even to indiscretion, honesty in friendship open in enmity. Neither in his private life nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen from his boy's matches at school to those stormy interchanges at the 1860 India House and in Parliament amidst which his later years were passed his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour with men who would give any promise without hesitation and break any promise without shame with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption perjury forgery to compass their ends. The latter show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined most erroneously in our opinion that he could effect nothing against such adversaries if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free if he went on telling truth and hearing none if he fulfilled to his own hurt all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this man in the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and a soldier was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer than he became himself an Indian intriguer and descended without scruple to falsehood to hypocritical evasions to the substitution of documents and to the counterfeiting of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nibob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Ni Wits, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native

1780 merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindoo talents, quick observation, trick, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta, but, when he saw the resolute front which the English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Decan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India, or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among 1420 the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished, and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had

mitted. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal against Clive the during in war, on 1450 whom, says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to imprison him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the meantime, his wretched administration, his folly, his dissolute manner, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldier, trader, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious 1410 Mahomedans, the timid, supple and poisonous Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydallab, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffer, the principal commander of the troops, and Juguet Sent, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation, but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffer on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffer promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donation to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. 1460 But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courier who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to

Mr Watts a letter in the following terms — "Tell Meer Jaffer to fear nothing I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs Assure him I will much night and day to his assistance and stand by him as long as I have a man left

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed Enough reached the ears of the Nibob to rouse his suspicions But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with marvellous readiness All was going well, the plot was nearly ripe when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false The useful Bengallee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta But this would not satisfy him His services had been great He held the thread of the whole intrigue By one word hearkened in the ear of Sarajah Dowlah he could undo all that he had done The lives of Watts of Meer Jaffer of all the conspirators were at his mercy and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance The committee incensed by the treachery and appalled by the danger knew not what course to take But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts The man he said was a villain Any artifice which would defeat such treachery was justifiable The best course would be to promise what was asked Omichund would soon be at their mercy and then they might punish him by withholding from him not only the bribe which he now demanded but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive

His advice was taken But how was the wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffer and the English and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes Clive had no expedient ready Two treaties were drawn up one on

white paper, the other on red, the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned, the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance anduteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do anything by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffer, and concluded by announcing that as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Suryah Dowrah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that Meer Jaffer should separate himself from the Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbazar, the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey, and still Meer Jaffer delayed to fulfil his engagements and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate, and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for the last time, his distrust

less spirit during a few hours shrink from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting, and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But seriously had the meeting broken up when he was himself  
 1,460 Clive. He retired alone under the shade of some trees and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put everything to the hazard and give orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed, and, at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango trees near Plassey within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep, he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals  
 1,460 from the vast camp of the Nibob. It is not strange that even his stout heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowrah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captives, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted. A Greek poet would  
 1,470 have said by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nibob pouring through many openings of the camp began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelock, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some

smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries 1590  
were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen  
thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of  
Bengal but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern  
provinces, and the practised eye of Clive could perceive  
that both the men and the horses were more powerful than  
those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose  
to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men.  
But of these nearly a thousand were English, and all were  
led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline.  
Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of 1590  
the Thirty Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours,  
amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in  
Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud  
motto, *Præsumis in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the  
artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the  
few field pieces of the English produced great effect. Several  
of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service  
fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own  
terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators 1600  
urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious  
advice agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested,  
was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and  
this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment,  
and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and  
dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined  
valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more  
completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who  
alone ventured to confront the English were swept down  
the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah 1610  
Dowlah were dispersed never to reassemble. Only five  
hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp,  
their guns, their baggage innumerable waggons, innumerable  
cattle remained in the power of the conquerors. With the  
loss of twenty two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had  
scattered an army of near sixty thousand men and subdued  
an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.



Meer Jaffer had given no resistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided he drew off his division of the army and when the battle was over sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters not a little uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honour due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Suryah Dowrah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English from whom he had nothing worse to fear than imprisonment and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffer had arrived and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a men's dress with a casket of jewels in his hand he let himself down at night from a window of his palace and accompanied by only two attendants embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoy. For his residence had been assigned a palace which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffer was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him after the immemorial fashion of the East an offering of gold and then turning to

the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter, for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said, indeed, to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired, when a lad, in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Sent, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr Sraffon, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr Sraffon in Hindostanee, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back, senseless into the arms of his attendants. He revived, but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ him in the public service. But from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to

exhibit himself dressed in rich garments and hung with precious stones. In this object state he languished a few months, and then died.

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers, with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm  
 1700 undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery, but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bungaloes, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed it is quite unnecessary to  
 1710 do so, for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Bourne we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed, not merely a crime, but a blunder. That honesty is the best policy is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct even with respect to the temporal interest of individuals, but with respect to societies the rule is subject to still fewer excep-  
 1720 tions, and that for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith, but we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long  
 1730 course of years, the English rulers of India surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness, and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom.

English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doubles, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us is as nothing when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise no hostage however precious inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the yes, yes and nay, nay of a British envoy. No friendship however strong by art or nature gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can secure by the offer of enormous usury draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent and twice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our sepoys on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept, he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor General and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not in spite of the most solemn vows leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound had we as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund retaliated by lying and forging and breaking faith after their fashion it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

1770 Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was tal on a few days after his flight and was brought before Meer Jaffer. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffer hesitated, but his son Meerin, a youth of seventeen  
1780 who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part, and Meer Jaffer understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologize to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The stores of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds  
1790 sterling in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moosshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived, and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up,  
1800 after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the flours and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver crowned with rubies and diamonds and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffer and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice and severely criticised in Parliament. They are 1810 vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the wages of corruption or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer on the other hand considers these great acquisitions as free gifts honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always been customary in the East to give and receive presents, and there was as yet no Act of Parliament 1820 positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This reasoning we own does not quite satisfy us. We do not suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country, but we cannot acquit him of having done what if not in itself evil was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government and of no other. It follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest trifle with respect to a cross or medal or a yard of coloured sash. But how can any government be well served if those who command its forces are at liberty without its permission without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such 1820 taking of presents but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed on grounds of common law and common sense that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers

but it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France would grossly violate his duty and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the  
 1850 Duke of Wellington. Suppose,—and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument—that the Duke of Wellington had after the campaign of 1815 and while he commanded the army of occupation in France privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace had rendered to the House of Bourbon, what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in  
 1860 Asia then.

At the same time it must be admitted that in Clive's case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general not of the Crown, but of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least authorised its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes and by other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did  
 1870 not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place and request their sanction, he did not on the other hand, by studied concealment show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken anything we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy  
 1880 exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity, but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self command in the treasury of Moolshedra.

Meer Jaffer could be upheld on the throne only by the help which his blood gave him on it. He was not indeed a warrior nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was no therefore quite so imbecile or quite so degraded as his predecessors had been. But he had none of the talent or virtues which his post required and his reign had been Meeran was another Sulthan Daulah. The 18th century revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many of the old ideas were in open question and the new world was the victory of the rich and powerful province of Oude which like the other victory of the Mogul was now in truth an independent or rather a mercenary kingdom with invasion No longer but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a day arrived with despatches which had been written at the Indian House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government controlled in the most cumbersome and absurd manner and to make the matter worse no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form the new government worthy to their honour took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffer regarded him with envious eye. On one occasion the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. Are you yet to learn he said 'who this Colonel Clive is and in what station God has placed him? The chief who as a famous warrior and an old friend of Meer Jaffer could venture to



the liberties answered I without the Colonel! I who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his majesty! This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffer to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffer regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching

113 neighbours.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He went forth in expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy, and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to an officer of the name of Leslie who was then little known but in whom the keen eye of the government had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid

110 and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Delhi in the hands of a subject. His eldest son named Shrih Alum destined to be during many years the sport of adverse fortune and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas and then of the English had fled from the grasp of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes the Nabob of Oude in particular were inclined to favour him. Shrih Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various tribes and religions Mahrattas Rohillas Jats and Afghans was speedily assembled round him, and he formed the design of overthrowing the usurper whom the English had elevated to a throne and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal Orissa and Bihar.

Meer Jaffer's terror was extreme, and the only ex-

pedient which occurred to him was to purchase by the pay<sup>1980</sup> ment of a large sum of money an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who before him had ruled the rich and unwinnable provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. 'If you do this,' he wrote, 'you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas and many more come from all parts of the confines of your country who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your Excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English and of those troops which are attached to you.' He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed. 'Come to no terms, defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English are staunch and firm friends and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part.'

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna and was on the point of proceeding to storm when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced marches<sup>1980</sup>. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans and two thousand five hundred sepoy. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle but in vain. In a few days this great army which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court of Moorshedabad melted away before the mere terror of the<sup>1990</sup> British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffer was as unbounded as his fears had been and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quit-rent which the East India Company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to

near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact the Company itself was his tenant, and by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffer's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffer did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had recently been great in the Eastern seas, and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah exhorting the government of Bengal to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Dacca eager to extend the influence of their country and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such huge detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffer secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power, that the English

murder could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France, that they might disown his acts, that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company, and 2010 he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied that, if he suffered the Dutch armament to press up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Ingher would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious dangers. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Loud, to whom the most important part of the operations was intrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsurah, and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their 2020 factories, and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant execution from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the 2030 third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention, and Pitt, whose influence in the House of

Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament described Clive as a heaven-born general, a man also, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery, but those words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate, and his single victory, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway varied in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous wanted vigour and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg. The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable. He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty

five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty seven thousand a year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever in any line 2120 of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander Iwancee whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated 2130 at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate Parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attachments, as we have seen, were to Mr Fox, at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr Pitt, but 2140 finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764 when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr Richard Clive who since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted him presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where

2150 Lord Clive was "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But, in truth, all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself as a soldier and a statesman, and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly, but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control. The Directors were, for the most part, mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court of Proprietors, whenever it chose to interfere, was able to have its way. That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful, than at present, for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently violent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Hampden election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train to every discussion and every ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

2170 The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young, he climbs slowly, he is fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India, but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned.

Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretariats, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company, nor can any talents, however splendid, or any connections, however powerful, obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street or published a clever pamphlet in defence of the charman, he might be sent out in the Company's service and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery office which invited everybody to take a chance and held out duel fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received as a present an estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquess of Rockingham and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year—a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow sure and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House had long stood a powerful, able and ambitious director of the name of Sulivan. He had conceived a strong jealousy of Clive and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had reportedly set at naught the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival, but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors



was then chosen untruly. At the election of 1763 Clive attempted to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he described as tremendous. Sinha was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which 2759 Clive had received from Meer Jaffer was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, void. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors however most unjustly determined to confiscate it and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. A vessel from Bengal had for some time brought him 2260 intelligence. The internal movement of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What mischief was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it armed with irresistible power and responsible only to the corrupt turbulent distracted all-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the whole interval between the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the 2265 departure of Clive from Bengal, the movement of the province was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman provincial who in a year or two squeezed out of a province the means of buying marble pillars and bronzes on the shores of Campania; of drinking from amber of feasting on hanging birds of exhibiting games of gladiators and flocks of camaleopards; the Spanish viceroys who jerked, behind him the curies of Mexico or Peru; entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches and of sumpter horses trapped and 2280 shod with silver, were now outdone. Cruelty, indeed properly so called was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprung from their unpunished

ergiveness to be such. They pulled down their creature,  
 Meer Jaffer. They set up in his place another Nabob,  
 named Meer Cossim. But Meer Cossim had parts and a  
 will, and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects  
 himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust  
 by oppressions which yielded him no profit, and which  
 destroyed his revenue in the very source. The English  
 accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer  
 Jaffer again, and Meer Cossim after revenging himself by  
 a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole,  
 fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every one  
 of these revolutions the new prince divided among his  
 foreign masters whatever could be scraped together in the  
 treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense popula-  
 tion of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who  
 had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him.  
 The servants of the Company obtained not for them  
 employers, but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the  
 whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear  
 and to sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the  
 tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country.  
 They covered with their protection a set of native  
 dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading  
 desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every  
 servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of  
 his master, and his master was armed with all the power  
 of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly  
 accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human  
 beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness.  
 They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but  
 never under tyranny like this. They found the little  
 finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah  
 Daulah. Under their old masters they had at least one  
 resource: when the evil became insupportable, the people  
 rose and pulled down the government. But the English  
 government was not to be so shaken off. That government,  
 oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism  
 was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It is

sembled the government of evil Genu, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in present misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta, and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers, and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front. The English armies, everywhere outnumbered, were everywhere victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. 'It must be acknowledged,' says the Mussulman historian of those times, 'that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undimmed bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence: nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government if they exerted as much ingenuity and solertude in relieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthy of command. But the people under their dominion grow everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer.'

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity, luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from

the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till 2340 every mess room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by whole sale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions, a disorganised administration, the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched, every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government, and on the 2350 frontiers, disaffection in the army, the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Venice and Pizarro, such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties forgetting their feuds and trembling for their dividends exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required. 2360 that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said he would make such propositions to the Directors as would he trusted lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy Sullivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An 2370 overwhelming majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sullivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But according to the bye laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors, and though hundreds were present nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Con-

man in chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate, but Clive triumphed. Sulivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat, and both the chairman and the deputy chairman were friends of the new governor.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May 1765 he reached Calcutta, and he found the whole machine of government even more fearfully disorganised than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Miran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But eager for gain and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant ignorant and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling was distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company, and in consideration of this bribe an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the infamous bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written immediately after his landing to an intimate friend he poured out his feelings in language which proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. Alas! he says, how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—unrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt.

The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and stoutest men in the assembly made some show of 2420 opposition. Clive interrupted him and brightly demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale, and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half, and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride. 2430 He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune, to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them, to conciliate the goodwill of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to them rapacity and helpless and timid race who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, 2440 would be the hatred of those ravenous adventurers who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part, and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless, but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole 2450 settlement seemed to be set as one man, against these measures. But the invincible governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William he would procure it

clerk-here, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most fractious of his opponents he turned out of their office. The rest submitted to what was inevitable, and in a very short time all resistance was quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the resultant abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses, as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even the inducements which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To try to attract a man from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be supposed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile under a puny remuneration for no other consideration than the stipulated wage. It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had become so generally impregnated into the commercial interests of the corporation that every intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. 'Abolutely prohibit the private trade,' said he, "for your business will be better done. I know this as has been proved a thousand times, not for bare wages. But you will take care this plea if you give great wages to their content, and then you know what you part from."

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum, and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest

of Bengal might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth proconsuls, proprietors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were by the ancient usage of the service and by the implied permission of their employers warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means, and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors he knew were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service the monopoly of salt which has formed down to our own time a principal head of Indian revenue, and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies and has been accused by historians of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises of authorising that very abuse which it was his special mission to destroy, namely the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their



200 maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices, by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence. Yet, such is the injustice of mankind, that none of the acts which are the real stains of his life, has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service; that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors, affected the interests of the military service, and a storm arose, such as even Clive would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing, to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers, engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without

250 commander. They little knew the unconquerable spirit with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers, and has put in on whom he could rely. He sent to Port St George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercenary agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis, and he sent order that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoy, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried and executed. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders, Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders he was inflexibly severe, but his severity was pure from all taint of private malice. While he strictly upheld the just authority of his office, he

passed by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor but Clive would not listen to the charge. The officer, he said, are Englishmen not assassins.

While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude with a large army lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries the Ricimers and the Odovacers who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes dignified with the names of Caesar and Augustus. But as in Italy so in India the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy and Clive in the same manner applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless and though he murmured had reason to be well pleased that the English were disposed to give solid rupees which he never could have extorted from them in exchange for a few Persian char-

acters which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck, and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Oussa, and Bahar.

- 2610 There was still a Nabob who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace to Charles Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether, but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob particularly in dealings with other European nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes, would, he conceived submit far more readily to the  
 2720 authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect than to that of a rival trading corporation. This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose on anybody, and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffer still resides at Moonsheerabad, the ancient capital of his house still bears the title of Nabob, is still received by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty  
 2830 thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power and is, in fact only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

- It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without  
 2940 subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighbouring

princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously but peremptorily refused, and it should be observed that he made no merit 2650 of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources, he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing 2660 his fortune.

One large sum, indeed, he accepted. Meer Jaffer had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie and jewels, and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers involved in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation. 2670

After a stay of eighteen months the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January 1767, he quitted for the last time the country, on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous cruises were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India House were still powerful and 2680 active, and they had been reinforced by a large band of

illies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such object natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him, and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances would have been ineffectual against truth and merit produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent, they had generally been sent at an early age to the East, and they had there acquired huge fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home, and, as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry similar to that which raged in France between the former general and the marquises. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Baile pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."

The Nobles soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the last display eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state, but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it in ostent, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of everything in their neighbourhood from fresh butter to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone the robes of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the example of their large and ill-governed households corrupt and held the servant in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of cool society, but, in spite of the splendour and the crowd of menial of the plate and the British chain of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men these were things which excited both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves the bitter reaction which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was discovered that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord Lieutenant on his own ground, or to carry the county against the best of whom an old as Donalbain Lord, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by depriving legitimate justice by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the harsh and bitter as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with extravagant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nobles seemed to be made up of the elements against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of the crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over the history of Turbott and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain, and Richard the Third. A temper of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horrorstruck at the way in which

they had got their money, the thrifty men at the way in which they spent it. The Dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The Macaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foots brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, desolate, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the rustocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on prodigals and flatterers, tricking out his charmer with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and pigmies. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and evincing decency by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cooper, in that lofty exaltation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own wars, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nibob with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of the country respecting Nibobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nibob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite admiration. He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square. He served one priee in Shropshire and another at Chiscomot. His parliamentary influence might

vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendour and power envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to have sat as awkwardly as on Mitchenie's Maigery Mushroom. Not was he himself, with all his great qualities free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content with the plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite. Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dutiless, and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders 'two hundred shirts the best and finest that can be got for love or money. A few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated touching his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India of bad acts committed when he was absent, nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account. He was in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson always held this language. Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his



pleasure grounds was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been filled with gold from the treasury of Moorsshedabad and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The proximity of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wizard lord had ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the grinning clowns who danced in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lord of the name of Hunt since widely known as William Huntington, S.S. and the superstition which was strangely mingled with the livery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

230 In the meantime, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770 the rains failed, the earth was parched up, the wells were empty, the rivers shrunk within their beds, and a famine, such as is known only  
286 in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers by and, with loud wailings implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoopley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors.  
28,0 The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not

energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained, but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects, and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country, that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it, that one English functionary who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges and are still thrown by two or three old women on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith. What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his acts had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he

2010 was as we have said the Nerbob the Anglo Indian character personified, and while he was building and planting in Surry he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital and insurrectionary movements in the Ameri-  
2020 can colonies had left the advisers of the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. When they did interfere their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Clitham, in deed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third had meditated a bold attack on the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange morbidly which about that time began to over-  
cloud his splendid genius.

At length in 1772 it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Govern-  
2030 ment was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr Pitt and the great Whig connection in 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over, the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war, the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis, the Ministers were forced to take up the subject, and the whole storm which had long been gathering, now broke at  
2040 once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was

such that he could count on the support of no powerful connection. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead, his followers were scattered, and Clive unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided the Parliament could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by himself. His enemies particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous ferocious implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated, and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with everything at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and, in a long and elaborate speech, vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham who now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to

the measures of his last administration and succeeded so far that his enemies thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

- 2990 The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some remarkable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India, and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffer was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparring examination and cross examination and afterwards bitterly complained that he the Baron of Plassey had been treated like a sheep stealer. The boldness and ingenuoseness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his eastern negotiations he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them and that in the same circumstances he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffer, but he denied that in doing so he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He had elum, on the contrary and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him, great princes dependent on his pleasure, an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder, wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles, vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. 'By God Mr Chairman' he exclaimed at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation.
- 3020 The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had concluded its labours enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to

vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues, that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India, and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffer, nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichand, but for his determined resistance to violence and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who raised far above ordinary restraints and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good, but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed, and if, on the whole, the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the Fourth of France, Peter the Great of Russia,—how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views, and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history.

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt thus in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless,

but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North, though not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the inquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some years before been created a Knight of the Bath, was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of  
3070 Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George the Third, who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned, and  
3080 whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides; for in that age all questions were open questions, except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on the Government. Thurlow, the Attorney-General, was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance that, some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous  
3090 champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs; and, after bidding his hearers remember, that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it

is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such 3100  
 requisitions to themselves. They resolved that this whole  
 some rule appeared to have been systematically violated by  
 the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day  
 they went a step further, and resolved that Clive had, by  
 means of the power which he possessed as commander of  
 the British forces in India obtained large sums from Meeu  
 Jaffer. Here the Commons stopped. They had voted the  
 major and minor of Burgoynes's syllogism, but they shrank  
 from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved  
 that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil 3110  
 example to the servants of the public, the previous question  
 was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had  
 risen on an unintermitted debate, Wedderburne moved that  
 Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and  
 meritorious services to his country, and this motion passed  
 without a division.

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us on  
 the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and dis  
 cernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great  
 temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad 3120  
 judges of an accusation brought against Jeolinson or against  
 Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party  
 question, and the House accordingly voted with the good  
 sense and good feeling which may always be expected from  
 an assembly of English gentlemen not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British  
 Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foul  
 The wret and government of Lewis the Fifteenth had  
 murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman  
 who had served his country with distinction in the East 3130  
 Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and, after years  
 of suffering, left it only to die. Dupliere, stripped of his  
 immense fortune, and broken hearted by humiliating attend  
 ance in ante chambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally  
 was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag  
 between his lips. The Commons of England on the other  
 hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating



justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles, they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles, and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltare, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltare would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosiac chronology much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theosophy stolen from the New Testament and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophised Bramins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations, and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of that strange melancholy "which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave." While still a writer at Madras he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His retive spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial soil. The malignity with which his enemies had pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons

had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the meantime his temper was tried by acute physical suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates, he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium, and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It was said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself, to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable, and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. On the twenty second of November 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices, and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults, and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations

do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity

From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East Till he appeared his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command His courage and capacity dissolved the charm With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghazni Nor must we forget that he was only twenty five years old when he appeared himself ripe for military command This is a rare if not a singular distinction It is true that Alexander, Condé and Charles the Twelfth won great battles at a still earlier age but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill to whose suggestions must be attributed the victories of the Gracians of Roderici, and of Hannibal Clive an inexperienced youth had yet more experience than any of those who served under him He had to form himself to form his officers and to form his army The only man, as far as we recollect who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had flitted before the imagination of Duplexis Such an extent of cultivated territory such an amount of revenue such a multitude of subjects was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the

administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765 Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich by any means in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaid. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away if in India the yoke of foreign masters elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness and public spirit if we now see such men as Munro, Elphinstone and Metcalfe after leading victorious armies after making and deposing kings return proud of their honourable poverty from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.



## NOTES.

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1 We This is the editorial use of "we" The essay on Lord Clive originally appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in the year 1840

2 The History of the Spanish Empire in America The American historian Prescott, in his *Conquest of Mexico and Conquest of Peru*, has written the history of the Spanish Empire in America See also Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles V*

4 In the East : i.e. India.

4 Ourselves Englishmen, to whom this Essay was addressed

5 Little interest This would be improved by the insertion of "but" before "little"

6 Every school-boy knows Macaulay is very fond of this phrase, it occurs again in the Essay on Boswell's *Life of Johnson* Referring to certain lines in Scott's *Marmion*, Macaulay says "every school girl knows"

6 Montezuma. The King of Mexico, at the time of its conquest by Cortes (1485-1554), the Spanish conqueror Cortes deposed and imprisoned him, but afterwards released him He died fighting for the freedom of his country against the Spaniards in 1520

6 Atahualpa The twelfth and last of the Incas of Peru Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, captured him by a stratagem and afterwards, on an unworthy pretext, had him strangled in 1533

6 Whether There are three "whethers" in this sentence The use of the first "whether" for "if" is inelegant

8 Buxar This battle, as every Indian school boy ought to know, was fought in 1764 between Major Munro and the Nawab of Oudh It put the British in possession of the valley of the Ganges As regards the conquest of India, the battle of Buxar was hardly less important than the battle of Plassey

9 The massacre of Patna. The English defeated Meer Cossim, Nawab of Bengal, in the battle of Gherrah in 1763 Out of revenge Meer Cossim massacred the English prisoners at Patna, as well as a number of leading native bankers and others

9 Surajah Dowlah The Viceroy of Bengal.—See any Indian History

10 Oude In Yule and Barnell's *Glossary of Anglo Indian words* there is the following brief but interesting account of Oude —' *Aoudah* properly the ancient and holy city of *Ayodhya* (Skt: 'not to be wared against') the capital of Rama on the right bank of the river *Stavya* now commonly called the *Gogra*. Also the provinces in which *Ayodhya* was situated, but of which *Lucknow* (*Lal hnao*) for about 150 years has been the capital, as that of the dynasty of the Nawabs and from 1814 Kings of Oudh. Oudh was annexed to the British Empire in 1856 as a chief commissionership. This was re-established after the mutiny was subdued and the country re-conquered, in 1858. In 1877 the chief commissionership was united to the Lieutenant Governorship of the N.W. Provinces.

10 Travancore An independent native state in the south west of the Indian peninsula

10 Holkar The well known Mahratta chief, Mulhar Rao, who died in 1767

10 Hindu See Yule's *Glossary*, s.v. India

12 Who had no letters etc Though the Mexicans had no alphabet such as civilized nations have, yet they had hieroglyphics or picture writing. To say also that the Mexicans were ignorant of the use of metals is certainly not accurate. Prescott, in his *Conquest of Mexico* I. 41 tells us that the wealthier classes wore ornaments made of thin plates of gold or silver.

16 Regarded a horse soldier as a monster At first no doubt the Mexicans were terribly afraid of men on horseback, but they soon began to treat them with the contempt bred of familiarity.

16 Half man etc Half = partly an idiom

17 Took a arquebuser for a sorcerer Thought that a man who fired off a gun was a magician. "Arquebuser" should be spelt *arquebuser* from the Italian *archibuso*, French *arquebuse*, Dutch *kerkbusse* a gun fired from a rest.

22 They had reared etc The people of India had erected

23 Saragossa The splendid University and Cathedral city of Spain situated on the Ebro. It was known to the Romans as *Caesara Augusta*.

23 Toledo The ecclesiastical capital of Spain. Once famous for the manufacture of sword blades. It is situated on the north bank of the *Tago*.

24 Buildings more beautiful etc Such, for example, as the Taj Mahal at Agra, the *Jammi Masjid* at Delhi, and the tomb of Humayun at the same place. Some of the temple work in Southern India is also very fine.

24 Seville Formerly one of the most splendid cities in Spain.

It stands on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, and is noted for its University and Cathedral.

25 *Fairs* Associations of merchants or bankers for the transaction of business.

26 *Barcelona* The second city in Spain, beautifully situated on the Mediterranean. It contains a University, and is the chief port in Spain, exporting iron, copper, cork, wood, wines and fruit.

27 *Cádiz* A well known Spanish city and port. The ancient *Gades*. It has one of the finest harbours in the world, and contains a royal dockyard.

28 *Ferdinand the Catholic* This was Ferdinand V, King of Aragon. He married Isabella of Castile, and thus united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. He conquered Granada, and established the abominable Inquisition. In the reign of these joint sovereigns, Columbus, under their patronage, discovered America. Isabella died in 1504 and Ferdinand in 1516. See Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*.

29 *Long trains of artillery* A number of large guns and wagons following; one another is called a "train" of artillery. The statement in the text is an exaggerated one, as the native armies had a very scanty artillery, and what they had was generally served by Frenchmen or Portuguese in the pay of the native princes.

30 *The Great Captain* Gonzalvo de Cordova, the renowned general of Ferdinand and Isabella. He distinguished himself in the conquest of Granada. He died in 1516 on his estate at Loja in Granada, to which he had been practically banished.

31 *A handful of* A very small and insignificant number of.

35 *Not only unimped, etc.* Not only without the power of affording gratification, but one that readers actually dislike to take up. A great deal has been done of late years to make the subject of the history of India attractive. Macaulay himself by his two splendid essays on 'Clive' and 'Warren Hastings' did not a little to stir up the interest of Englishmen in the history of India. Of recent writers, Sir W. W. Hunter has done the most.

37 *Mill* (b. 1774—d. 1836). This is James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill, the well known writer on Political Economy. His "book" is his *History of India*, published in 1818.

39 *Orme* Robert Orme, who was born at Anjengo, near Cochin, in 1728. He wrote a most voluminous *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745 to 1761*. This work appeared in two parts, the first being published in 1763 and the second in 1778. Orme died in 1801.

40 *Is minute even to tediousness* i.e. relates even unimportant events so fully that he becomes tedious.



47 (Sir John Malcolm's) volumes. This Essay on "Clive" has for its text, so to speak, Sir John Malcolm's work. The full title is given in the footnote.

48 *Repelled*. Driven away from the subject,—from the study of Indian History.

49 *Materials*. Letters, papers, &c., from which to prepare the life of Clive.

49 Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833) was a distinguished soldier and diplomatist. He began life at the age of 14 as an ensign in the Madras Army, and rose to be Governor of Bombay in 1827. His best known work is a *History of Persia* (1815). Sir J. W. Kaye wrote a life of Sir John Malcolm (1856).

50 *The late Lord Powis*. This was Lord Clive's eldest son, Edward. He was born in 1754 and died in 1839, the year before Macaulay wrote this Essay, hence the word "late" = who has recently died. Lord Powis's title was taken from his seat, Powis Castle in Montgomeryshire.

51 *Very skilfully worked up*. Made the best use of, so as to put the life of Clive in an attractive form before the public.

53 *To complete*. The "Life" was not completed by Sir John Malcolm himself, but by some friend anonymously. In the Preface to *Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive*, p. viii, it is said, "Sir John had completed the introduction, and the first thirteen chapters, before he left India in 1830. The fourteenth and fifteenth he finished after his return, and was engaged with the sixteenth, when death put a close to his labours."

54 *By condensation*. By reducing the amount of matter, by omitting uninteresting and unimportant details.

57 *The noble family*. The Powis family.

59 Even when we make the largest allowance etc. Macaulay's meaning is—Clive's family were naturally anxious that he should be represented to the world as a great and good man, and Sir J. Malcolm was evidently an ardent admirer of Clive. Still, making every allowance for the favourable light in which Clive's actions were naturally regarded by his family and biographer, there can be no doubt that Clive's name and fame will be greatly raised in the estimation of the public by the perusal of Sir J. Malcolm's work.

64 *Whose love passes the love of biographers*. A scriptural phrase. Macaulay's writings are saturated with biblical phraseology. See, especially, his Essay on *Bertrand Russell*. See 2 Samuel: 26. "Thy love to me was wonderful, prizing the love of women." The meaning is that Sir J. Malcolm shows a greatly reverence and love for his hero, Clive, than is usual even with the most partial of biographers.

65 *His idol*. Clive, whom he almost worships.

76 With this paragraph Macaulay begins his own account of Clive's life,—the preceding pages are merely introductory

76 The Clives are the family of Clive, his father and other ancestors

77 Near Market Drayton Clive was born at Styche, in the parish of Moreton Gly near Market Drayton

80 A plain man. A man who made no great display of any kind,—a homely man

81 Tact Discernment, which enables one to do and to say the right thing at the right time

83 Avocations Properly this word means a calling away from any business, but it is generally used to mean "occupation"

The law was his "avocation," farming his "avocation"

84 From Manchester Whose family lived in Manchester

87 The old seat See note on l 77

89 Some lineaments of the character of the man Some indications of what Clive's character would be when he grew up to be a man

93 Constitutional intrepidity An inherent fearlessness, a lack of fear born with him Nelson exhibited when young a similar trait of character See Southey's *Life of Nelson*

96 One of his uncles Mr Bayley of Hope Hall, near Manchester He married a sister of Mrs Clive

97 To which he is out of measure addicted For which he shows an incredible fondness

98 Imperviousness Haughtiness, contempt for the feelings and rights of others

98 Flies out Gets into a rage

100 Bob A shortened, familiar form of "Robert"

107 Guaranteed etc Undertook that none of his band should throw stones at and break their windows

112 Make a great figure Occupy a prominent position, rise to high place and dignity

115 Slender parts Small, limited abilities

118 Writership The rank and style of the junior grade of "covenanted civil servants of the East India Company" was that of "Writer," above them were "Factors" and above them again Junior and Senior "Merchants." There is the following quotation in Yule and Burnell's *Anglo Indian Glossary*—"Mr Robert Clive, Writer in the Service, being of a Martial Disposition, and having acted as a Volunteer in our late Engagements, We have granted him an Ensign's Commission, upon his Application for the same"—*Letter from the Council at Fort St David to the Honourable Court of Directors*, dated 2nd of May 1747 (MS in India Office)

122 The East India College This was at Haileybury in Hertfordshire Here the Civil Servants of the Company used to

be trained. It was founded in 1806 and closed in 1858, on the Government of India being taken over by the Crown. At present it is a College for general education.

122 *Now*, i.e. in 1840

123 *The Company was then*, i.e. in 1725 or 26

127 *To man*. To supply artillerymen for

133 *As now*, i.e. in 1840

135 *To take stock*. To reckon up what goods they had in stock and what had been sold.

144 *Fort St George*. The original fort was built in 1641. It was made a Presidency in 1653.

145 *A raging surf*. The general idea is that there is always a heavy surf at Madras. This, however, is not the case, except in bad weather.

146 *A town*. Now called Black Town, in which were situated the law courts, bank, chief merchants' offices and shops.

148 *The prophet's gourd*. See the Bible, Jonah, ch. iv.

149 *The suburbs*. The chief suburbs are the Adyar, Nun-gambakam, Chetput, and Egmore.

149 *Villas*. Country houses, detached residences.

157 *Many devices*. Such as swinging punkahs instead of hand fans cooling drinks with ice, &c.

160 *In our time*. What would Macaulay say if he could revisit us and make the journey from London to Madras in less than three weeks? People now grumble if it takes a full month even by the longest route, except of course that round the Cape. There must be a limit to everything, and it does not seem likely that the journey will ever be shortened to a week, though from ten to twelve days are talked of, and perhaps the rising generation will live to see this effected.

173 *The Carnatic*. Originally the whole of the Coromandel coast. This is no longer a geographical designation, but it often appears in Indian History as the scene of the struggle in the last century, between the French and English.

174 *The Deccan*. A name formerly given to that part of the peninsula of India lying to the south of the Vindhya mountains. It included Madras and part of Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and other states. Its local meaning now is the tract which lies between the Nerbudda and Kistna rivers.

[For fuller accounts of the term "Carnatic" and "Deccan" see Yule and Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.]

174 *Nizam*. The hereditary title of the reigning prince of Hyderabad. There is still a Nizam who is one of the greatest of the feudatory chiefs of India.

176 *The Great Mogul*. This was the title given to the rulers of the Mogul Empire established by Baber.

177 There is still a Nabob, etc. The titular Nabob having died childless in 1803, the title finally lapsed.

183 There is still a Mogul. This was in 1840. There is now no Mogul.

188 The Brazils. Brazil is the largest of the South American states—its capital is *Rio de Janeiro*. It is now a Republic.

189 Picked up. Gained in a desultory way, without the help of any regular instructor.

190 He did not arrive, etc. Observe Macaulay's short sentences. This is one of his well-known peculiarities as a writer. No one could write in a more stately style than he when the subject demanded it, but he often adds great vividness to what he has to say by expressing it in a series of short crisp sentences.

196 Well placed. Well situated, so as to get all the fresh air possible.

205 His letters to his relations. Malcolm quotes some of these letters with high approval. They show, as he justly remarks, that Clive at this time possessed excellent principles and an affectionate heart.

219 To have access to it. To make use of it.

227 As he had behaved, etc. That is, with haughtiness and insubordination. On one occasion Clive was ordered by the Governor to beg a certain official's pardon. He did so, but on the official asking him, in a forgiving spirit, to dinner, Clive replied, "No, Sir, the Governor did not command me to *dine* with you."

232 Wallenstein. Duke of Friedland. The great general of the Thirty Years' War (1618—1648). He commanded the Catholic forces on the Imperialist side. He was assassinated in the castle of Egra in 1634.

239 The war of the Austrian succession. On the 20th October 1740 the Emperor of Austria, Charles VI., died. By the Pragmatic sanction Maria Theresa was to succeed to his dominions, but the Elector of Bavaria claimed them and proclaimed himself Duke of Austria. France and Spain supported the Elector. Frederick II., King of Prussia, commonly called the Great, took advantage of this state of things, and attacking the Austrians, defeated them at Mollwitz in 1741. The English, Dutch, Hanoverians and Hessians aided with Maria Theresa.

The war continued till 1748. The peace of Aix la Chapelle brought the war to a close for a time.

241 The House of Bourbon. Members of which royal family ruled over France and Spain at this time.

244 For all the nations, etc. This is not quite true at the present date, as several continental nations have very powerful navies. Nevertheless it is believed that she would still prove

a match at sea for the greatest combined navies of any two other nations. Every effort is now being made to further strengthen and improve the British Navy. Parliament a few years back voted twenty millions sterling, beyond the usual estimates, for the purpose. In another ten years we shall probably have regained our old complete supremacy at sea.

246 *The Eastern seas* The seas east of Suez,—the Indian Ocean.

247 *Labourdonnais* Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais. A most distinguished French officer. In 1746 he defeated the English fleet at Madras. On his being recalled to France in 1748 he was most shamefully treated and imprisoned in the Bastille for three years. He was then brought to trial and acquitted of the charges of corruption brought against him by Duplex. Born 1699—died 1753.

252 *The keys* Of Fort St George.

253 *Stipulated* Laid down as one of the articles of the capitulation.

256 *On parole* This is short for the French phrase, "parole d'honneur,"—word of honour—the word of honour of a prisoner of war in return for conditional freedom.

262 *Duplex* Joseph François Duplex. The greatest name in the History of India on the French side. He became Governor of Pondicherry in 1742, and was at the same time made Director General of the French factories in India. He it was who first conceived "gigantic schemes for conquering the whole of India. Like Labourdonnais he was scandalously treated by his country and died in poverty in 1763 nine years after his recall. See Milleson's *Duplex* (Rulers of India Series).

262-3 *Revels* gigantic schemes. To turn over in his mind plans for the conquest of the vast continent of India.

265 *Gene beyond his powers* Exceeded the instructions given him, and taken more upon himself than he was entitled to do.

273 *The Governor* Mr Nicholas Mordaunt succeeded Mr Richard Benyon as Governor of Madras on 17th January 1743, and was taken prisoner of war on the 10th September 1746, when Fort St George capitulated to Labourdonnais. He was taken with the principal English inhabitants of Madras, to Pondicherry. Madras remained in the possession of the French until August 1749, when it was restored by virtue of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. What became of Mr Mordaunt is not known. Mr Thomas Saunders was the next Governor of Madras.

274 *Carried* i.e. conveyed.

281 *Fort St David* This fort was situated near the sea, twelve miles to the south of Pondicherry. It was small, but better

fortified than any of its size in India, and served as a citadel to the Company's territory

286 *He solicited* See quotation under note on l 118

290 *A military bully* An officer who insulted and bullied everybody about him

293 *New calling* That of an officer in the army

297 *Major Lawrence* Major Stringer Lawrence He was born in 1697 and for twenty years served the Company, which erected a fine monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey Died in 1775

300 *Peace had been concluded* On 7th October 1748, the peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded between those countries that had been engaged in the war of the Austrian succession By this treaty of peace all conquests (except Silesia, which was retained by Frederick the Great) made by any of the combatants were restored

314 *The House of Tamerlane* Tamerlane or Timur Beg was the Great Mogul (i.e. Tartar) conqueror of Northern India The line of Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, reigned over India as the great Moguls In 1526 Baber finally defeated the Sultan of the Afghans and became substantial master of Hindustan

318 *Moguls* Persian *Moghol*, Mogul, another form of *Mongol*

321 *St Peter's* This is the great Roman Catholic Cathedral at Rome In many respects it is the finest building in the world

324 *The pomp of Versailles* Versailles is celebrated for its palace, built by Louis XIV It was the favourite residence of the kings of France, and there they ruled with great pomp and display The city of Versailles was occupied by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, and there, in the palace of Versailles, on 28th January 1871, King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany

327 *The deputies of these deputies* Petty chiefs who held their power as subordinate to the viceroys of the great Mogul

332 *On a superficial view* To any one who merely looked at its extent and the great display made by its princes To any one who did not closely consider it

335 *Tainted* Infected corrupted

335 *The vices of oriental despotism* Oriental rulers have usually been despots i.e. they have ruled free from all control, such as Parliament exercises in England, for example The vices to which Macaulay more especially refers are those of sparing neither woman in their lust nor man in their rage Under an "oriental despot" there is no security for person or property

337 *Conflicting pretensions* The opposing claims

339 Lieutenants of the sovereign Viceroys

341 A foreign yoke That of the Moguls

349 Aurungzebe This was the sixth Mogul ruler Born 1618 He succeeded Shah Jehan and ruled from 1659-1707

350 Hastening to dissolution Rapidly approaching destruction Note the metaphor,—taken from a man, whose health is utterly broken, and is rapidly sinking into his grave

356-89 This paragraph is remarkable for the great display of historical learning it contains It is, in fact, carried to excess, and may be regarded as a defect Let the student also note the numerous short Miscellany sentences They add life and vigour to the writing but are somewhat overdone

356 Theodosius, the Great, Emperor of the East, was a native of Spun, and was born A.D. 346 After the defeat and death of Valens at Adrianople in 378, he assumed the government of the East, and reigned till 395 His empire was divided between his sons Arcadius and Honorius The death of Theodosius was the signal for the invasion of the Goths and Vandals under Alaric and Genseric The feeble successors of Theodosius were unable to cope with them, and Rome speedily fell into their power

356 The Carolingians There were two great French or French dynasties, those of the Merovingians (410-752) and the Carolingians (752-987) Charles Martel (715-41) and Pepin, his son (741-768), were Mayors of the Palace that is, high officers of state under the later "do nothing" kings of the Merovingian dynasty In 768 Pepin the Short shut up Childeric III, the last of the Merovingian kings, in a monastery, and assumed the kingly dignity as first of the Carolingian line

356 Charlemagne was born in the castle of Salzburg in Bavaria A.D. 742, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle in 814 He was the son of Pepin on whose death in 768 he became ruler of the whole kingdom His brother Carloman was to divide the kingdom with him, but died three years afterwards His reign was spent in adding to his dominions, and in 800 he was crowned Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III In 929 the reign of Charles the Simple, grandson of Charles the Bald, terminated The Carolingian dynasty dragged on for nearly sixty years more, until, in 987, Hugh Capet founded the third or Capetian dynasty of French kings

366 Fierce invaders Such as the Scandinavians under Rollo, the Vikings or the Ungars (Hungarians), originally a Scythian tribe, the Magyars from Finland, and the Saracens

370 The pirates of the Northern Sea, &c of the Baltic Rollo and his Scandinavians, the Northmen, Norsemen, or Normans, who conquered Normandy about 900

371 The Elbe to the Pyrenees Through Germany and France

372 The rich village of the Seine In 876 Rollo sailed up the Seine to Rouen, took the city, the capital of the province then called Neustria, and twice defeated Renaud, Duke of Orleans. So terrible were the ravages of these Northmen that Charles the Simple was glad to procure peace by the cession of Neustria and Brittany to Rollo (905)

372 75 The Hungarian Pannonian forests The Hungarians were originally a Scythian tribe, who settled in the ancient Pannonia (part of Illyria), now called Hungary, about 890 A.D.

374 The Gog or Magog of prophecy (Some editions read "and Magog.") "Gog" and "Magog" are two names which occur in the Bible (Rev. vi. 8, Ezekiel xxxviii 3, 14, and xxxix 11). They are supposed by most interpreters to denote the heathen nations of Asia, more particularly the Scythians, and (collectively) such princes and people as were enemies to the church of God.

Macaulay says "of prophecy" to distinguish them from the two legendary giants whose effigies are in the Guildhall, London.

376 Lombardy That is, the valley of the River Po, in Northern Italy.

376 The Saracens The Saracens were an Arabic race, the first disciples of Mahomet. Within forty years after his death (632) they had subdued a great part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. In 711 and the following years they conquered Spain, and, in 755, established the Caliphate of Cordova. They ruled in Sicily from 832 to 878.

383 In the most barren tract Cp. — "The sources of the noblest rivers, which spread fertility over continents and bear richly laden fleets to the sea, are to be sought in wild and barren mountain tracts, incorrectly laid down in maps and rarely explored by travellers. To such a tract the history of our country during the thirteenth century may not inaptly be compared." Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. 1.

384 Fendal privileges Under the "feudal laws" land was held from an overlord for services to be rendered, who held his domains from the king on the same terms. Thus in the reign of William the Conqueror the kingdom of England was divided into baronies, which were given on condition of the holders furnishing the king with men and money when called upon to do so.

383 Sauntered Loitered, idled. Skeat, in his *Etymological Dictionary*, says, regarding this word, "origin unknown."

384 Bang A decoction of the dried leaves of the hemp. From Sansk. *bangá*, hemp.



397 **A Persian Conqueror** Nadir Shah In 1739 he captured Delhi, sacked it, and put the inhabitants to the sword

400 **Roe** Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from the court of James I to the great Mogul He lived three years (1615-18) at Delhi For a full account of Roe's journey and Embassy Wheeler's *Tales from Indian History* may be consulted In 1621 he was ambassador at the court of the Grand Seigneur, or Emperor of Turkey The Alexandria MS of the Greek Bible was brought by him to England from Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, as a present to Charles I It is now in the British Museum

400 **Bernier** François Bernier was a noted French traveller, who was born in 1620 After traversing Palestine and Egypt, he came to India and resided at the Court of Aurangzeb for twelve years as his physician In 1685 Bernier visited England His travels were very popular and have been frequently republished He died in 1688

400 **The Peacock Throne** A peacock in gold and precious stones was constructed and put up by Shah Jehan over his throne at Delhi It is said to have been worth nearly £6 500,000

401 **Golconda** Once a famous fortress now in ruins It is in the Nizam's Dominions about seven miles west of Hyderabad The diamonds for which it was famous were, as a matter of fact, merely cut and polished there, being generally found at Pateil, near the south eastern frontier of the Nizam's territory

403 **Mountain of Light** The Koh-i-Nur This famous jewel, now one of the crown jewels of England, was found in a mine near Golconda in 1550 It belonged successively to Shah Jehan, Aurangzeb, and Nadir Shah (1739), who gave it the name of the *Mountain of Light* It next passed into the hands of the Afghan Kings, and when Shah Sujah was dispossessed, he gave it to Ranjeet Singh It next fell into the hands of Dhuleep Singh, but, on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, it was surrendered to England It is valued at £120,664

404 **Latelly** In 1839 Ranjeet Singh died, bequeathing the diamond to the idol of Jagannath, but Dhuleep Singh kept it for himself

404 **Ranjeet Singh** "The Lion of the Punjab," Ruler of Lahore He was born in 1779 This great chief died in 1839 See any Indian History for an account of him

405 **Orissa** A division of Bengal under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal At Puri, the headquarters of the district of Orissa, is situated the great temple and idol of Jagannath

405 **The Afghan** Ahmed Shih Abdali, who invaded India six times He first accompanied Nadir Shah in 1739 in his

inviction, and having once learnt the way never ceased to return at intervals between 1747 and 1761, until, in the year 1761, he utterly crushed the Mahrattas at the battle of Paniput.

407 *Rajpootana* The Rajputs are Hindus of the military class, inhabiting Rajputana to the south of the Punjab. There are in all eighteen Rajput states under the political superintendence of the Agent of the Governor General. These states came under British protection in 1818.

408 *Behlsund* A division of the North West Provinces.

409 *The Sikhs (or Sekhs)* The word 'Sikh' means disciple or follower. The Sikhs were originally a religious sect, the followers of Nanak Shah, who was born in 1469 and died in 1539.

410 *The Jatts or Jats* A warlike tribe from the banks of the Indus. They appear to have emigrated from the great plains beyond the Oxus, and still retain the warlike and pastoral habits of the Scythians.

427 *Kettle drums* These drums are commonly used by cavalry regiments. They are made of half spheres of copper, or brass covered with parchment.

430 *Milder* Than that of the fierce plundering Mahrattas.

432 *The annual ransom* Commonly called *Chauth* usually one fourth of the revenue. An abbreviation of the Marathi *chaudhar*, one fourth.

432-33 *The wretched phantom* Mahomed Shah, who succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1719 and died in 1748. In his reign it was that Nadir Shah took Delhi.

435 *One rapacious leader* Baljee, or Baji Rao 'the second and greatest of the Peshwas' (1720-40). See any History of India.

436 *Another at the head of his innumerable cavalry* Meer Huseeb. See Marshman's *History of India*, part 1 p. 227.

438 *Magazines* Store houses full of goods. *Not* military magazines.

441 *The Mahratta ditch* In 1742, Alivurdy (Alivardi) Khan became Nawab of Bengal. "For ten years he was harassed by the Mahrattas. They carried off large sums of money, and to secure peace, he was forced to yield up to them the province of Orissa. During this period the English applied to him to be allowed to dig a ditch round Fort William, as a defence against the Mahrattas, a request that was readily granted; hence the ditch became known as the 'Mahratta ditch'. The 'Circular Road' now runs along the site of it.

442 *Wherever the viceroys, etc.* At this time the Mogul (nominal) ruler of Hindustan, Mahomed Shah, was, as Mowatly says, 'a wretched phantom, — the feeble successor of such great

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Mogul rulers as Baber, Humayun, Akbar, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzebe—consequently his lieutenants, or viceroys, threw off all allegiance and assumed sovereign power over such portions of the country as they ruled.

444 *Tamerlane* Timun Beg the great Tartar Sultan and conqueror. See 1 314.

444 *As a Count of Flanders* etc. The meaning is that the Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy might regard a descendant of Pepin as their nominal suzerain, but voted as if they were independent sovereigns.

448 *Titular* He was styled the king of kings and Great Mogul, but it was a mere title.

450 *They were*, etc., i.e. the viceroys of the Mogul.

450 *Removable at pleasure* Whom the Great Mogul could recall and replace just when he chose,—as can be done with an English Viceroy of India by the British Government.

454 *At Lucknow* Since the Mutiny (1857) there has been no king of Oudh, of which Lucknow is the capital. In 1859 the Governor General made a triumphal entry into Lucknow, and Oudh became from that date a non-regulation province under British rule. The government of Oudh is in the hands of a Chief Commissioner.

455 *Hyderabad* During the Mutiny, Hyderabad was governed by Salur Jung the Nizam being a minor. Salur Jung remained faithful to the British, and the young Nizam now rules his own dominions under the suzerainty of the English Crown.

461 *Cabul* The capital of Afghanistan. Since Macaulay's time Cabul and Afghanistan have filled many pages of the history of India. At present the ruler of Afghanistan receives a subsidy from the British Government, and is to all intents and purposes a vassal of the English Crown.

461 *Chorasan* A province of Persia.

473 *Burrampooter* The Brahmaputra. Sanskrit for "off spring of the deity." It rises in Tibet near the source of the Indus at an elevation of 14,000 feet, and under the names of Sapa and Dihang flows for many hundred miles until it becomes the Brahmaputra in Assam. It joins the Ganges near its mouth and flows into the Bay of Bengal.

474 *Hydaspes* The ancient name of the Jhelum, one of the great tributaries of the Indus. On the banks of the Hydaspes, Alexander the Great defeated Porus, king of the Indira provinces, to the east of that river, see 327.

474 *Dictate terms of peace* Alluding to the Burmese war of 1824 and the peace of 1826, signed at Yendabon.

475 *Ava* Once celebrated as the capital of the Burmese Empire. The city is now in ruins. The modern capital of

Upper Burma is Mandalay. Since Macaulay's day, it, like many other portions of India, has come directly under British rule. The annexation of Upper Burmah, in 1886 having taken place during Lord Dufferin's Governor Generalship, he was created a Marquis, under the title of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.

475 Its vassal. Shih Saja in 1839. Afghanistan is at present an independent buffer state, under the eyes of Great Britain.

476 Candahar. A well known town in Afghanistan about 300 miles south west of Cabul. In recent times Candahar is best known for the celebrated march made in August 1880 for its relief by Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts, recently Commander in Chief in India.

477 The man who first saw, etc. Col Mangleson's *Dupleix* (Rulers of India Series) should be read. The following passage is from pp 159-61 of that volume —

"England," wrote M. Xavier Raymond in his admirable work on India, \* "has been much admired and often cited for having resolved the great problem of how to govern at a distance of 4000 leagues, with some hundreds of civil functionaries and some thousands of soldiers her immense possessions in India. If there is much that is wonderful, much that is bold and daring, much political genius in the idea, it must be admitted that the honour of having inaugurated it belongs to Dupleix, and that England, which in the present day reaps from it the profit and the glory has had but to follow the path which the genius of France opened out to her. Yes, indeed! Now that the lapse of nearly a century and a half has cleared away the passions and prejudices of that exciting period, now that from the mass of accomplished facts we can examine the ideas and conceptions of the men who were the pioneers of European conquest on Indian soil, there lives not a candid Englishman who will deny to Dupleix the credit of having been the first to devise the method by which European predominance on Indian soil might be established. His work did not endure because it was his misfortune to be compelled to employ inferior tools, whilst his rivals were led by men of extraordinary capacity. It did not last because just at the moment when his plans might have been realised he was recalled at the instance of the immemorial enemy of France, on the eve, moreover, of a war, which, for the seven years that were to follow, was to try the resources against France of that very enemy. But the effect of his schemes survived him. The ground he had so well watered and fertilised, the capabilities of which he had proved, was almost immediately after his departure

\* *L'Univers Pittoresque* vol. II. L. Indes Paris 1858

occupied by his rivals, with the immense result which is one of the wonders of the present day.

481 Were tossed only, etc. Were thinking only of matters connected with trade.

482 Nor had he only proposed, etc. He had not only conceived the idea of the conquest of India, but had a clear perception of the means by which it could be effected.

487 The tactics. The military science.

489 Saxe. Hermann Maurice Saxe, a distinguished French General. He was the natural son of Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. He was born at Dresden in 1696 and died at Chumbord in France in 1750.

490 Frederick. The well known King of Prussia, usually styled "the Great." In the "Seven Years War" (1756-63) he contended almost single handed against the united forces of Russia, Saxony, Sweden, France, Austria, and other German States. It is to be remembered, however, that he was assisted by England both with money and troops.

491 Glittering puppet. Native prince who made a great display, but had no power to do anything by himself. Just as puppets or dolls are dressed up and moved by wires, so these princes were in his hands to be mere tools.

503 Confounded the confusion. Made the confusion much worse. The phrase is one borrowed from Milton.

With rum upon rum, rout on rout.

*Confusion worse confounded*—*Paradise Lost*, ii. 560.

504 Analogies. Similar instances. Object after "applying."

507-10 In fact. In theory. Actually. nominally.

514 Had the bear of Babar, etc. Were able to control the motions of the Great Mogul.

519 In fact. Some editions read "*de facto*."

525 Nur-ud-Daulah. The following account of this great chief of the Deccan, founder of the Nizam Dynasty, is from Marshall's *History of India*, part i. ch. vii. —

"Drood Khan, who had governed the Deccan as the deputy of Zulfiqar Khan, was removed after the destruction of his patron, and sent as governor to Guzerat. The agreement he had made with the Mahabads regarding the chowd and other dues fell to the ground on his removal, and they began to collect them again by violence. The office of Subbidar of the Deccan was bestowed on the son of Ghazeeooddeen, who has been already mentioned in connection with the siege of Bejapoor in 1686. The family had emigrated from Tataria, or rather Persia, to seek its fortunes in India, and belonged to a clique of officials at the capital who were commonly designated the Touraine nobles. Chum Kibich

Khan, the new Subadar, rose to distinction in the court of Aurangzeb, by whom he was decorated with the titles of Asaf Jah and Nizam-ool-moolk. As it was on this occasion that he laid the foundation of the kingdom of Hyderabad, we shall anticipate the period of his independence by designating him henceforward as the Nizam. He was a statesman of great experience and ability, but of still greater subtlety. During the seven teen months of his incumbency he fomented the dissensions between the rival houses of Kolipore and Satara and thus established some heel on the ravages of the Mahrattas. Siboo was induced to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Emperor, and though in his own circle he assumed the title of King of the Hindoos, in the court calendar he was ranked as a Mogul Commander of 10,000.

530 Corrupted into etc. His proper name was Ali Verdy Khan or Aliwardi. Not to be confounded with the Viceroy of Bengal of the same name. This Aliverdis real name was Annar-ud-din. See *Marshman*.

534 Son-in-law of a former Nabob. The former Nabobs name was Dost Ali: one of whose two daughters was married to Chundru Sahib, Dost Ali's nephew, Mortiz Ali, "the most truculent and unprincipled prince in the Deccan, married the other."

540 Adventurers. Soldiers of fortune.

556 Burke. Edmund Burke was a great English statesman, orator, and political writer. He was born in Dublin in 1729 and died at Beaconsfield in 1797. Burke's great speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts was delivered in 1785. G. H. Leves says of it: "It is a picture which should be studied as one studies a master piece of Veronese or Titian." The following is the most striking passage in the speech:—

"When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He became, at length, so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who burned their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the

creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage society could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction, and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were silly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered, whilst, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of confusion, and amidst the goring spears of divines, and the trampling of parading hosts, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities, but escaping from the fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine. For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Mysore, and so completely did these masters of their art, Hyder Ali and his more ferocious son, involve themselves of their imposition, that when the British armies traversed, as they did, the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead, uniform silence reigned over the whole region. That hurricane of war poured through every part of the Central Provinces of the Carnatic.

567 Immortality. As long as the English language exists, which will probably be as long as the world lasts, the Nabob of Arcot will be had in remembrance by this speech of Baileys.

568 Policy. Political schemes.

569 Te Deum. The *Te Deum* is a song of praise which will be found in the English Prayer Book. It is so called from the first words of the song in Latin, "*Te Deum laudamus*."—i.e. We praise Thee, O God. On the announcement of any great victory in time of war, it was usual to sing "*Te Deum*" in the churches and cathedrals.

570 Survived his elevation, &c. Murzaphi or Mousaffer Jung left Pondicherry to return to Hyderabad on 4th January 1761. On the 13, three Pathan Nabobs rebelled, a fight took place, in

which both the Nizam and the rebellious Pathan nobles were killed

598 *The vain glorious Frenchman* That Duplery should show pride in his valour is not to be wondered at. Macruly, by using the word "vain glorious," means to depreciate what Duplery had accomplished, but there can be little doubt that if Duplery had only been treated fairly by his country, and firmly supported, he would have grined for France Southern India at least

609 Which is, being interpreted A Scriptural turn of expression

615 Invested Besieged

619 Of established character Who could be relied on to command troops with firmness and discretion

628 Served only to expose their own weakness, etc. These words are not dissimilar in thought from the last lines in the following verse from *Rule Britannia* —

Thou brightly tyrant ne'er shall tame,  
All their attempts to bend thee down  
Will but arouse thy generous flame  
And work thee more and thy renown

635 *Commissary* An officer whose duty it is to provide food, clothing, tents, transport, etc.

644 The siege would be raised Relinquished, given up

663 To throw up works To strengthen the walls and build up embankments or fortifications

688 *Casualties* Accidental losses by death, probably from fever and other diseases, also, perhaps, by chance shots from the enemy

705 *The Tenth Legion of Caesar* That was Caesar's favourite legion of soldiers during his Gallic wars

706 *The Old Guard of Napoleon* The Imperial Guard was originally formed in 1804. In 1809 it was divided into the *Old* and the *Young* guard. It fought most bravely at Waterloo and elsewhere. When called upon to surrender at Waterloo, it is said to have replied "The Old Guard dies, but surrenders not."

710 Thin gruel Congee, or *Lanju* (Sansk.), rice water or gruel

722 *Moran Bow* The celebrated Mahratta chief of Gooty. "He was," says Marshman, "the ablest and the boldest native general of his time, and his little army, composed of Mahrattes, Mahomedans and Rajputs, was the most compact and formidable body of native troops in the south." He was captured at Gooty in 1776 (when that fort fell into the hands of Hyder Ali), and died in captivity



738 The great Mahomedan festival The *Mohurram* See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 1

739 Hosein, the son of Ali Ali, the first convert to Mohammedanism and fourth Caliph, was the bravest and most faithful follower of the Prophet Mahomed, whose daughter Fatima he married. He was murdered by a fanatic in the year A.D. 660. Mahomed called him "the lion of God, always victorious." His son, Hosein, was also assassinated. The *Mohurram*, or anniversary of the murder, is observed on September 14th by the Shites, the religious sect formed by the followers of Ali.

742 Fatimites The followers of Ali, the husband of Fatima, —otherwise called Shites.

752 Given up the ghost Died

756 Houris The black-eyed damsels of the paradise of Islam. Der from the Arabic *hura*, the plural of *ahwar*, beautiful-eyed. Cf. *The Koran*, l. 11. 10—"There shall be the houris with large dark eyes like close kept pearls, a recompense for their labours past."

790 Transports Excessive exhibitions

795 Tumery A town in the North Arcot district about 7 miles south of Arcot on the road to Arnee.

812 Languor Want of vigorous action on the part of the British.

819 A loss more serious Because they were far better soldiers.

827 By a just and profound policy If Clive had allowed the pillars celebrating the victory of Duplex to remain standing, the natives, who might see it or learn that it was still to be seen, would imagine that the English either feared to destroy it, or were unable to do so. Clive destroyed it to show that the English were not afraid of or inferior to the French in any way.

830 Laid the public mind under a spell To the native mind this pillar seemed a proof of the invincibility of the French. Its destruction proved that the French were not invincible. The spell or magical power which it might be supposed to exercise over their minds was broken when it was destroyed.

831 Confessedly Undenrably, without doubt

853 Brilliant coadjutor Clive

869 No commander to oppose No military man fit to take the command against

876 Captain Bobadil The type of the military braggart. He is a character in Ben Jonson's Comedy of *Every Man in his Humour*, and is usually regarded as one of his very best characters.

873 Bussy The Marquis de Bussy Castellan A distin-

gushed soldier Hé was born in 1718 and died at Pondichery in 1785

892 Chunda Sahib fell into the hands, etc. Deserted by his own officers, Chunda Sahib yielded himself up to the Tanjore general, whom he thought most favourably inclined to him. The general took the most solemn oath to conduct him in safety to a French settlement, but owing to some quarrelling as to the charge of Chunda Sahib's person, he had him suddenly beheaded,—at the instigation, it was supposed, of Mohamed Ali.

899 Sweepings of the galleys. The worst prisoners from the French galleys.

899 Galleys. These were large open boats with rows of oars pulled by prisoners who were condemned to this punishment.

919 Crimps. A "crimp" is one who decoys men into naval or military service,—especially one who entraps sailors. In the text those who entrapped men for military service are meant. In 1641 "crimping" and "pressing" were declared illegal by Parliament.

919 Flash houses. Houses to which thieves and vagabonds resorted. The word "flash" is usually applied to spurious money, and is derived from the name of the village *Flash*, situated between Buxton and Leek, where a gang of coiners once carried on their dishonest trade.

923 Faced about. Turned tail, turned their backs on the enemy.

939 Storming. The verb to storm is properly transitive, and it would be better to insert the word "it" after storming.

940 Capitulated. Surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war.

944 The eminent mathematician. Dr Nevil Maskelyne, F.R.S., was born in 1732 and educated at Westminster and Cambridge. In 1761 he was appointed by the Royal Society to go to St Helena to observe the transit of Venus. While on this voyage he determined the method of finding the longitude at sea by lunar observations. He was the original compiler of the *Nautical Almanac*. He died in 1811.

945 Is described. In letters written at the time.

951 Slighted. Disregarded, thought unworthy of consideration.

954 First soldiers. Best commanders.

961 Nickname. Because at this time Clive was only a Captain. The word is a corruption of an *etc* name, i.e. an additional name. The "n" in "an" has been added to *etc*. Cp next, and the opposite process in *empire*.

962 Was toasted. Had his health drunk.

981 **Very substantial reasons** In the shape of the money and gifts he bestowed upon them.

990 **Evacuation.** Rather a curious word to use here. The meaning is of "emptying one's pockets."

991 **Contested election.** Clive was elected for a Parliamentary borough (See l 1024). There was another candidate for it. Thus the election was "contested," and in those days this meant very heavy expenditure in the way of bribes to voters. After wards the defeated candidate disputed the validity of the election, and petitioned Parliament against it. In those days election petitions were decided by a trial of the strength of the contending parties in the House without regard to the facts of the case.

991 **A petition.** That is a formal "petition" by the defeated candidate against the validity of the election.

994 **Opposition.** The party in Parliament which opposes the Ministry or Government for the time being is called "the Opposition."

994 **The Jacobites.** From *Jacobus*, the Latin for James. The adherents of the Stuart cause and of James the Pretender, son of James II, after the Revolution of 1688, were so called.

994 **Cowed, frightened, dispirited.**

995 **The last Rebellion.** That of 1745, under Charles Edward Stuart.

995 **Tory.** The party of the Tories long had a suspicious connection with Jacobitism.

1000 **Prince Frederick.** The Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II and Caroline of Anspach. He quarrelled with his father and led the Opposition until his death in 1751.

1003 **Whig.** In the reign of Charles II the name of *Whig* was a term of reproach given by the court party to their antagonists, for holding the principles of the "Whigs, or Antical Covenanters in Scotland. In return, the name of Tory was given to the court party, comparing them to the "Tories or popish robbers in Ireland. Eventually these names became the honoured distinction of the two great political parties. In these days we generally speak of Conservatives and Liberals and not of Tories and Whigs.

1007 **The administration.** At this time the head of the Government was Thomas Pellet, Duke of Newcastle, a Prime Minister chiefly remarkable for his incapacity. He was compelled to resign in 1766, so great was the popular outcry against him. He was born in 1693 and died in 1768.

1011 **Henry Fox.** The first Lord Holland. He was a political disciple of Walpole. Fox's public career was more or less a failure, though he was a man of great ability. Born 1705, died 1774.

- 1012 *Crossing Thwarting*
- 1013 *The First Lord of the Treasury* This office was and is combined with that of Prime Minister
- 1015 *Breaking with Quarrelling with, and so alienating*
- 1016 *Parts Abolishes*
- 1016 *Promoting* He was afraid to promote them lest they should show themselves more fitted than himself for the highest office
- 1017 *Set his heart on* Was bent on, was especially desirous of
- 1019 *Reform Act in 1832* This Bill, passed on 4th June 1832, disfranchised fifty six boroughs, of less than 2,000 inhabitants each, and deprived thirty other boroughs, of less than 4,000 inhabitants of one member each
- 1020 *Lord Sandwich* John Montague, the fourth Earl of Sandwich In 1763 he was First Lord of the Admiralty, and in the same year was made one of the Secretaries of State He violently denounced Wilkes, who had been his boon companion Walpole says of him that his industry was so remarkable that the world mistook it for shultry Born in 1718, died 1792
- 1024 *Was returned* Was elected a member of Parliament for the borough of St Michael in Cornwall
- 1028 *A committee of the whole House* That is, the whole of the House of Commons sitting in committee discussed the petition against Clive's election In a "Committee of the whole House," the "Speaker" leaves the chair, and any one may speak as often as he likes
- 1030 *Affected* Pretended to be carried out
- 1030 *Sir Robert Walpole* was born in 1676 and died in 1745 He was 'one of England's greatest financiers As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he saved the nation's credit on the collapse of the South Sea Bubble in 1720 For upwards of twenty years, during the reigns of the first two Georges, he held the office of Prime Minister against the most virulent opposition In 1742 he resigned with the title of Earl of Orford In his *Essay on Lord Holland*, Mordaunt says of him "Many of his contemporaries had a morality quite as lax as his but very few among them had his talents, and none had his hardihood and energy"
- 1032 *There ought to be no quarter* Political opponents should not be spared, but every means taken to crush them
- 1033 *Really at issue* The matter nominally before the Committee of the House was whether Clive had been properly returned to Parliament, but really the whole matter became a great political contest for power between the parties of Fox and New castle
- 1040 *Beat half the lawyers, etc* Legal points in connection

with Clive's election were of course discussed, and on points of law Fox proved himself a better lawyer than the lawyers present who were against Clive.

1043 Reported to the House. The House having sat in Committee and found that Clive's election was valid, on receiving a formal report to that effect, again debated the question, and Clive was unseated—purely on party grounds.

1046 Straitened in his means. Short of funds.

1072 Gherrah. This was Angria's most important arsenal. Marshman (part 1 ch. 2) speaks of it as "the noble port of Gherrah, about 170 miles south of Bombay." See also Orme's *History*, vol. 1, p. 415.

1073-74 A pirate named Angria. Orme, in his *History of India* (vol. 1, p. 407) gives the following account of Angria:—"The Malabar coast, from Cape Comorin to Surat, is intersected by a great number of rivers, which disemboque into the sea, it appears that from the earliest antiquity the inhabitants have had a strong propensity to piracy, and at this day all the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruise upon those of all other nations which they can overpower. The Mogul Empire when it first extended its dominion to the sea in the northern parts of this coast, appointed an admiral called the Sader, with a fleet to protect the vessels of their Mahometan subjects, trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, from the Malabar point, as well as from the Portuguese. The Morattoes were at that time in possession of several forts between Goa and Bombay, and finding themselves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul admiral they made war against him by sea and land.

"In this war one Courage Angria raised himself from a private man to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was entrusted with the government of Severndroog, one of their strongest fort, built upon a small rocky island which lies about eight miles to the north of Diu, and within cannon shot of the continent. Here Courage revolted against the Sadr Rajah, or king of the Morattoes, and having reduced part of the fleet to follow his fortune, he with them took and destroyed the rest. The Sadr Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the mainland within point blank shot of Severndroog; but Courage took these forts likewise, and in a few years got possession of all the sea coast, from Tamarah to Bencoolé, extending 120 miles, together with the inland country as far back as the mountains, which in some places are 40, in others 20 miles from the sea. His successors, who have all borne the name of Angria, strengthened themselves continually, insomuch that the Morattoes having no hopes of reducing them, agreed to a peace on condition that Angria should acknowledge

the sovereignty of the Shah Ruyah, by paying him a small annual tribute but they nevertheless retained a strong animosity against him and determined to avail themselves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.

1099 *Marts* Places of traffic

1104 *The garden of Eden* *Paradise* A proverbial expression for any place that is very beautiful and very fertile

1107 *The delicate produce of its looms* Indian muslins were celebrated

1113 *The earth is water, etc., &c.* there is no solidity in the earth and no bravery in the men The province of Valencia is a great contrast to that of Castile The Castilians exhibit their jealousy of the fertile province of Valencia by their proverb

1124 *The great commercial companies* The English at Calcutta the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, all had factories in Bengal at this time

1126 *Chandernagore* One of the few remaining settlements of the French in India It is situated on the right bank of the Hugli, about 21 miles north of Calcutta The French have now been in possession of it for more than 200 years It contains only about 2,100 acres and 30,000 inhabitants

1128 *Fort William* This fort was originally built in 1695 with lime brought up from Madras, and was so substantial that it is said to have cost more labour to demolish it 120 years afterwards than its erection had cost

1135 *Chowringhee* The fashionable quarter of Calcutta in Macaulay's time

1146 *Aliverdy Khan* Scujah ood din died at the period of Nadir Shah's invasion and his son Serferaj Khan took possession of the Government, and ordered the coin to be struck and prayers to be read in the name of the Persian But on his departure, Aliverdy Khan (1740), the Governor of Behar, who owed his fortunes entirely to the deceased Viceroy, conspired against his son, and, by large donations and larger promises to the profligate ministers of Mahomed Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, obtained a sanad appointing him Subadar of the three provinces With the army he had been for some time engaged in training, he marched against Serferaj, who was killed by a musket ball in the battle which ensued, and Aliverdy Khan mounted the throne, for which, however he was eminently fitted by his great talents and experience The promises he had made were faithfully performed, and he remitted to Delhi a crore of rupees in money and 70 lacs in jewels, obtained from the estate of the deceased Nabob,—a most welcome supply after the imperial treasury had been drained by Nadir Shah The presence of the new Viceroy was required, soon after his accession, in Persia, where the brother

in law of Serfdom refused obedience, but he was speedily defeated and fled to Masulipatam. Having settled the province Alivardi disbanded his new levies, and was marching back at his leisure to Moorshedabad with a small body of troops when he received intelligence that the Maharras were rapidly advancing with 12,000 predatory horse to levy contributions in Bengal, and the difficulties of his reign began.

This brave old Tutta Viceroi of Bengal expired at Moorshedabad at the age of eighty, on the 9th of April, 1756 bequeathing the government to Surajah Dowlah, a grandson on whom he had long doted — *Memoirs*, part: chs viii and x.

1184 A rich native. His name was Kresander. See Orme, vol II bl vi p 49.

1195 Good. Ironical for "bad."

1200 Mr Holwell. John Zephaniah Holwell was born at Dublin 1711. Being intended for commerce, he was sent to Holland, where he learnt the French and Dutch languages. This situation being disagreeable to him, he returned to England and was apprenticed to a surgeon. In 1732 he went to India and in 1736 became a member of the court of Calcutta. He was also appointed perpetual Zemindar in the council, where he introduced a system of reform. In June 1756, as related by Mueraley, occurred the Black Hole incident in his career. On his release he returned to Europe, but in 1758 went out again and the next year succeeded Clive as Governor. At the close of the following year he returned to England, where he died in 1798, surviving his Black Hole experiences forty-two years.

1205 Then was committed. Observe how much more force there is in this sentence than there would have been if Mueraley had written 'That great crime etc. was then committed.'

1210 The Black Hole. An account of this appalling tragedy will be found in all histories of India. It would appear from the best accounts, that the room was merely a lock up in which it was the custom to confine two or three refractory soldiers at a time. Into this room Surajah Dowlah's soldiers forced 146 Europeans.

1214 It was the summer solstice, i.e. 20th June 1756. The 22nd June is usually reckoned to be the exact date when the sun seems to stand still (of the sun, and not, I stand) and the 22nd December the winter solstice.

1229 Ugolino. Count Ugolino a leader of the Guelph party in Pisa, was thrown into prison with two sons and two grandsons by Ruggieri, the archbishop. The key of the dungeon was thrown into the Adige, and one by one they all died of famine (1288).

Dante has introduced this story in his *Inferno*, and represents Ugolino as devouring most voraciously the head of his enemy Ruggieri while frozen in the pike of ice.

1234 *Presence of mind*. Holwell still had his wit about him, did not lose his head.

1240 *Cruel mercy*. An example of the figure "oxymoron."

1247 *More than eighty years*. It is now nearly 140 years since the great crime was committed, but it cannot yet, not even will be, "told or read without horror."

1283 *In August*. Of the year 1756.

1288 *The Hoogley*. The most important of the many channels by which the Ganges enters the Bay of Bengal. Calcutta stands on its left bank, about 80 miles from the sea. There is also a district and a town of the same name in the Burdwan division.

1290 *Admiral Watson*. Charles Watson was born at Westminster in 1714, was a captain in the Royal Navy in 1738, served with distinction against the French in 1747, and in 1748 became a Rear Admiral. Five months after the attack on Chandernagore he died, August 1757.

1294 *It had to make its way against adverse winds*. In those days only sailing ships were used, and as the north-east monsoon usually begins in October, the expedition probably met with very bad weather. It must have been exceptionally bad to delay them so long—from October 10th, the date of sailing to December 10th, the date of arrival.

1297 *Reveling in fancied security*. Conceiving himself perfectly safe from any attack on the part of the English, he was thoroughly enjoying himself.

1306 *In the open enjoyment of their gains*. In openly making fortunes by trade.

1315 *Budgebudge, or Bhujibhuj*. A small town on the left bank of the Hooghly, 10 miles south-west of Calcutta.

1320 *Overtures*. Proposals for a treaty.

1324 *Accommodation*. An amicable arrangement of matters.

1326 *A committee*. Micavalvy means to imply that from such a committee, a committee of cowards, nothing but cowardly counsel could be expected.

1330 *Apprised*. Having received notice, having learnt.

1334 *To treat*. To enter into negotiations with Surajah Dowlah.

1342 *Political designs*. Plans having reference to the government of the country.

1352 *Cost a pang*. Caused the slightest sorrow or regret.

1358 *Constitutionally*. By nature.

1364 *Hypocritical caresses*. Pretences of great friendship and esteem.



- 1385 The counterfeiting of hands Forgery See 1513
- 1401 Enfeebled by power As his will was never opposed, he became weak minded from never having to use his brains to think out a difficulty
- 1411 And Watson Watson wrote to Clive as follows — "I am now fully convinced the Nabob's letter (in which he made overtures for peace) was only to amuse us in order to cover his retreat and gain time till he is reinforced Till he is well thrashed, don't, sir, flatter yourself he will be inclined to peace"
- 1425 Oscillated, like a pendulum, wavered
- 1430 "The daring in war" The native name by which he went was "Sabut Jung," which means, "the daring in war" There is the following footnote in vol 1 p 400 of Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive* — "The title of Sabut Jung, viz, 'firm or steady in war,' was first given by the Nabob Mahommed Ali to Colonel Clive, in allusion to his memorable defence of Arcot some years before, but it was after his arrival in Bengal in 1767 that he was best known there by that title, which was engraven on his Persian seal"
- 1434 The most florid language of compliment The most flowery and complimentary language
- 1436 Impale From the French *empaler*, and spelt by some dictionary makers "empale" To "impale" is to put to death by driving a sharpened stake or pole through the body
- 1456 Donative Gift, gratuity
- 1463 So affectionate Clive's conduct in luring Surajah Dowlah on to his destruction by "soothing letters" written in "affectionate terms" was certainly neither manly nor straightforward, and is astonishing in the hero of Arcot Macaulay does not gloss it over, but very justly reprehends it
- 1477 To play false To prove treacherous and betray the plot to the Nabob
- 1481 Held the thread Held the clue Was acquainted with all the ins and outs of the intrigue
- 1484 At his mercy In his power
- 1496 Sufferers of Calcutta Those who had been plundered, imprisoned, and otherwise maltreated by Surajah Dowlah when he took Calcutta
- 1500 An article touching etc A clause in the treaty regarding his claims, etc
- 1503 Expedient A contrivance, plan
- 1509 Had scruples Hesitated, from conscientious motives
- 1521 Would do themselves the honour This was, of course, ironical
- 1528 Cosmabuzar A town 1 mile south of Mooredabad,

on the left bank of the Bhagirathy, the most sacred branch of Ganges. An error for Cutwa. See Marksmen, vol. 1, ch. 1.

1529 *Piassey* A village on the right bank of the Bhagirathy, 80 miles north of Calcutta. The site of the battle—one of the most famous in the world's history—has now disappeared by the erosion of the river banks.

1537 No light thing A very serious thing.

1549 He was himself again. He had recovered his usual firmness of resolution. Cp. the saying "Richard's himself again," which is not from Shakespeare but from Colley Cibber's version of *Richard III*, Act 1, sc. 3.

1552 Determined to put everything to the hazard. Resolved to risk his fortune, honour, everything on the chance of battle.

1555 The river was passed. This reminds one of *Cæsar* and the Rubicon. The river is the Bhagirathy.

1567 Crisis. The hour that was to decide his fate, and make him either undoubted master of Bengal or a fugitive.

1569 Haunted a Greek poet, etc. This is an allusion to the *Eumenides* (good tempered goddesses), a euphemistic name given by the Greeks to the Furies, as it would have been unlucky to call them by their proper name of *Erinyes*. They were the supposed avenging deities, and, like the Fates, were three in number, *Alecto*, *Tisiphone*, and *Megera*.

1572 The day broke, etc. From this point begins the sovereignty of Daghind over India. The passage is one worthy of the importance of the day it describes. See *Hunter's Indian Empire*, p. 285.

1591 Thirty-ninth Regiment. The old numbers of the Regiments of British infantry have of late years been abandoned, and territorial designations given them instead. Thus the old 39th is now the 1st Battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment, stationed at this very time in the Madras Presidency.

1592 Honourable addictions. Additional titles of honour.

1593 In Spain and Gascony. Referring to the numerous battles of the Peninsular war, and to the victories of Orthez and Tolouse (both in Gascony), fought in February and April 1814.

1594 *Primus in Indus*. First in the Indies.

1597 Produced great effect. Caused great loss to the enemy.

1604 Snatched the moment. Promptly seized the opportunity.

1620 He drew off, etc. He deserted the Nabob.

1638 To try the chance of war again. To venture his fate once more upon the issue of a battle.

1646 Patna. This town, the largest in Behar, lies on the south bank of the Ganges.

1655 Presented to him an offering of gold. Thus, in Hindustani,

goes by the name of *shew*—a present, an offering from an inferior to a superior

1679 A trick Some editions read "a tale in"

1712 Machiavelli This well known writer of *Del Principe*, or *The Prince* a treatise full of "cold blooded wisdom, and considered by some as an apology for tyranny, was born at Florence in 1469. He became Secretary of State to the Florentine Republic and was employed on several embassies notwithstanding which he died poor in 1527. See Macaulay's *Essay on Machiavelli*.

1713 Borgias Caesar Borgia, the natural son of Pope Alexander VI. After his father's election to the Holy See in 1493, he was made a cardinal. He assassinated his elder brother out of jealousy. A greater monster never lived. He was killed at a siege in 1507.

1714 Not merely a crime, but a blunder. That is it is wrong morally, "a crime, and wrong politically," a blunder. Macaulay was fond of this phrase. In his speech on the gates of Somnath (9th March 1843) he says "Morally, this is a crime. Politically, it is a blunder. Touché, in his *Memoirs* claims to be the author of the saying "It is a blunder—it is more than a crime, it is a political fault, words which I record because they have been repeated and attributed to others."

1715 Honesty is the best policy. This is a well known popular saying or proverb.

1738 No oath which superstition can devise. Oaths of fidelity founded on superstition used to be very common. See *Quentin Durward* and the oath "by the Three Kings of Cologne."

1741 Yea yea and 'nay, nay. See the Epistle of James v. 12. "But above all things, my brethren, swear not neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath, but let your yea be yea and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into condemnation."

1745 Guarantee Of safe conduct.

1747 The wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. This is the true secret of India's so called poverty. We write from more than a quarter of a century's experience of the country. All the clip-trip about taxation will not go down. Let the banned hoards be brought out and used in developing the industries of India, let the people give up the insane practice of locking up their money in jewellery, and the country will soon be in a more flourishing condition than it now is. Worse political economists than the people of India do not exist. We know of wealthy men who keep their money in wells and hidden away in their houses, because they are afraid to trust banks. All this money and the interest on it is lost to the country.

1700 *Ruppes* The name of this coin is from the Sanskrit *rupya*, "brought silver." A very interesting article on the "ruppes" will be found in Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary* (q.v.).

1784 *Understood so much of their feelings* He knew that they would utterly disapprove of the murder of Sarajah Dowlah. However great a man's crime, the English always desire that he should be fairly tried, and condemned only if found guilty.

1801 *Florins* The "florin" is a coin first made at Florence, and stamped with the *lily flower* (*flor, flora*), the national badge of Florence. The old "florins" spoken of in the text were not of English manufacture, but gold florins of the 13th or 14th century made in Florence, and brought into India through the great trade with Venice. The English had a coin called a "florin" in the reign of Edward III., of the value of six shillings. The modern English "florin," first coined in 1849, is of the value of two shillings only.

1802 *Byzants* Otherwise spelt *le ants*. A gold coin first struck at Byzantium (Constantinople), of the value of about £15 sterling.

1806 *He accepted etc.* The actual amount was under £200,000. See *Malcolm*, vol. 1, p. 275.

1808 *Sixteen years later, &c.* in 1772.

1812 *Wages of corruption* Bribes.

1814 *The biographer* Sir John Malcolm. See his *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. 1, last two pages.

1816 *The donor* Messr. Jaffier.

1817 *The rewards bestowed, etc.* The Emperor Joseph I. bestowed the Principality of Mandelheim on Marlborough in 1708; Nelson was granted the estate of Bronte in Sicily and made Duke of Bronte by the King of Naples in 1798, and Wellington was made Duke of Vittoria by the King of Spain in 1813.

1826 *Of evil example* A Latinism, "mau exemple."

1831 *This rule ought to be strictly maintained, etc.* It is now strictly followed. Gifts are sometimes exchanged, but the usual practice is to touch and remit navars.

1836 *Privily* Private knowledge, implying consent.

1860 *And we beg pardon, etc.* The Duke of Wellington was alive when this essay was published, hence the apology for using his name to illustrate such an argument. The Duke died on 14th September 1842.

1862 *Extenuating circumstances* Facts connected with the affair which tended greatly to lessen the gravity of the offence.

1863 *The Crown, etc.* The King (and Parliament), but of the East India Company, — a mere Corporation.

1870 *Distinctly* In plain and unmistakable language. Macaulay is rather fond of this word. See 1, 2016, where it means

"well" or "clearly," and again in the last line but two of the same paragraph

1872 Studied Deliberate, premeditated

1878 He accepted twenty lacs of rupees As a member of the committee he received £28,000, and £160,000 from Meer Jaffier direct See *Malcolm*, vol. 1 p. 257

1887 So unfortunate as to be born in the purple, &c as to be born a prince An expression borrowed from the Greek, in which princes are styled "*porphyrogenetos*," born in purple, that being the royal colour

1890 Another Surajah Dowlah A man of the same character—licentious, cruel and perfidious

1893 The Viceroy of Oude Sujah ud Dowlah, defeated by Munro at the battle of Burga, 1764

1897 The tottering government The authority and power of Meer Jaffier, which were threatened and likely to fall before the Viceroy of Oude

1899 The India House On September 22nd, 1599, the merchants of London held a meeting, at which it was resolved to form an association for the purposes of trading with India, and on December 31st of the following year (1600), a charter was granted to 'the Governors and Company of the merchants trading unto the East Indies, entitling them to exclusive trade with the countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan

This company, commonly known as the *East India House*, or, briefly, *the India House*, has been justly styled "the most celebrated commercial association of ancient or modern times" Its local habitation was in Leadenhall Street, London In 1862 the old house was taken down, and its celebrated museum removed to Fife House, Whitehall At present the museum of the India House is at the South Kensington Museum Charles Lamb, author of the *Essays of Elia*, and James Mill, the Historian of India, were both clerks in the India House

1903 To make the matter worse Note this absolute infinitive construction Similar phrases are "to tell the truth," "to say the least of it," "to come to the point," "to cut the matter short" Morris regards them as having 'in adverbial force

1918 Are you, etc Have you, etc Macaulay misses the point of the joke The following extract from Wheeler's *Tales from Indian History* makes it clear—"The courtiers at Murshedabad held Meer Jaffier in such contempt that they called him 'Clive's Jackass' One day a courtier was rebuked by the Nawab for having offended Clive by permitting his servants to fight those of the English Colonel 'Me offend the Colonel?' he cried, with a sneer, 'why, I never rise in the morning without making a

alam to his Jackson' The whole court was convulsed with secret laughter, whilst the Nawab was perhaps the only Muslim miran in Murshedabad who did not understand the sarcasm

1933 The tract lying to the north of the Carnatic What we now call the Northern Circars—comprising the following five districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntur The geographical limits are on the west Orissa, east the Bay of Bengal, south the Carnatic, and south Cutch. This great tract of country Bussy had compelled Salabat Jung to cede to the French in 1763, and in 1769 Colonel Forde, as related in the text (Bussy having been recalled), drove out the French

1944 The hands of a subject Ghazi ud din, the Vicer of Alamghur II (1704-59), deprived his feeble master of his sight, and kept him imprisoned till, in 1709, the Afghan Ahmed Shah Abdali, advanced upon Delhi The great Mogul was then by Ghazi ud din's order assassinated and his body thrown into the Jumna See *Masakman*

1945 Shah Alam There is very little to be found about this prince in history According to *Masakman* (part 1 p 294) on hearing of his father's death he assumed, in 1760, the imperial dignity, with the title of Shah Alam II In 1761 we find him lingering within the limits of Behar with a hoard of troops, which was dispersed at Gja by Colonel Carnac After the battle of Bivar, in 1764, the Emperor became a tool in the hands of the English

1904 Rohillas See Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*

1956 The upstart Meer Jafier, who had suddenly risen to power from a humble station

1960 Expedient Way out of the difficulty

1973 The Governor of Patna Ramnaryen *Masakman* says — "Ramnaryen the Hindu Governor had been strictly enjoined to wait the arrival of the reinforcements but he chose to march out and encounter the enemy alone, and was totally defeated The city must have surrendered at discretion, if it had been immediately invested, but the Emperor wasted the precious moments in plundering the district On the 20th February, Colonel Clive came up with the Emperor, and, notwithstanding the misconduct of Meer's 'horse,' completely routed his army After some delay, the Emperor besieged Patna, which was on the point of falling, "when Captain Knox, who had advanced from Bengal by forced marches to its rescue, at the hottest season of the year, was despatched approaching it with a small force The following day the two armies met, and the Emperor was defeated and his force dispersed

1980 The Colonel Does Macaulay mean Clive, or Colonel

Callaud? Apparently the former *Marshmen*, however, was (see extract above) it was Captain Know.

1986 About the person of At the court of and in personal attendance on

1995 Quit-rent A small rent paid in acknowledgment of another's right, or for release from other claims

1999 To support with dignity, etc To keep up his position in a way that was suited to the greatest nobles of England

2004 Was his tenant The Company had to pay the money to Clive, and to take his receipt for it thus there could be no attempt even of concealment An absurd attempt was made in 1763, by Clive's enemies, to deprive him of this grant of rent from Meer Jaffer See ll 2230-37

2017 The power of Holland In the East the Dutch had been very successful, but in Europe their power, a naval one, was pining before that of the English

2019 Chinsurah Formerly a Dutch settlement, beautifully situated on the Hooghly, 30 miles north of Calcutta

2021 Batavia The capital of Java and of all the Dutch possessions in the East

2029 The enterprise The scheme concocted by the Dutch and Meer Jaffer was planned to be carried out just at the right time

2035 A friendly power At this time the English and Dutch were at peace in Europe

2038 Disavow Refuse to countenance

2042 The Batavian So called because it had been fitted out at Batavia

2044 Would throw himself, etc Would at once openly join the Dutch and desert the English alliance

2060 The police Peculiarly used to mean "the guarding of," "the peaceful regulation of their factories"

2062 Covenants Obligations, agreements

2064 Clive sailed for England On February 25th, 1760

2069 The Irish peerage The "peerage" of Ireland is generally regarded as lower than that of England or Scotland, probably because of its more recent creation While the peerage of England and Scotland dates back to the 11th century that of Ireland begins at the close of the 12th century (1181)

2070 Encouraged to expect Many peers belong to the peerages of more than one division of the United Kingdom

2072 With great distinction With great marks of favour

2072 Ministers The chiefs of the government

2073 Pitt whose influence, etc Pitt's grandfather had held office at Madras He himself, an Englishman to the backbone, naturally took great interest in one who had done so much to

raise the fame of England in the East. In Pitt's speech on the Mutiny Bill, he said — "We had lost our glory, honour and reputation everywhere but in India. There, the country had a heaven-born general" (19078).

2076 That memorable period. The years 1769 and 1760 were noted for the following events besides those which occurred in India —

1st August 1760 The battle of Minden, in which Ferdinand of Brunswick the commander of the allies among whom were 12,000 British troops under Lord Sackville and the Marquis of Granby, conquered the French.

13th September 1760 Victory and death of Wolfe at the battle of Quebec in which he defeated Montcalm.

31st July 1760 The battle of Warburg, in North Germany, in which the Duke of Brunswick and his allies, among whom were many thousand English defeated the French.

18th August 1760 The battle of Lagos Bay, in which Admiral Boscawen defeated the French, under Admiral De la Clue.

30th November 1760 The battle of Quiberon Bay, in which Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over the French, and thus defeated the projected invasion of Britain.

2080 Which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. Voltaire, in his *Life of Charles* vol. ii p. 187, relates the following anecdote — Lord Ligonier, then Commander in Chief, one day asked His Majesty (George II) 'Whether the young Lord Dunmore might go as a volunteer to the army of the King of Prussia?' Leave was refused. 'May he not join the Duke of Brunswick?' was the next request. 'Pshaw!' said the King. 'What can he learn there?' If he wants to learn the art of war, let him go to Clive.

2081 No reporters in the gallery. The 'gallery' referred to is that of the House of Commons which was erected after the fire of 1834. Previously to 1771, reporting the debates in Parliament was strictly forbidden, but there can be little doubt that we owe much of our freedom and good government to this now universal practice.

2082 The death of Wolfe. The following account of the death of Wolfe is from *Bancroft* — "Wolfe, as he led the charge, was wounded in the wrist, but still pressing forward, he received a second ball and, having decided the day, was struck a third time and mortally, in the breast. 'Support me,' he cried to an officer near him, 'let not my brave fellows see me drop.' He was carried to the rear, and they brought him water to quench



his thirst. 'They run!' spoke the officer on whom he leaned. 'Who run?' asked Wolfe, as his life was ebbing fast. 'The French,' replied the officer, 'give way everywhere.' 'What' cried the expiring hero, 'do they run already? Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton and him much Webb's regiment with all speed to Charles River to cut off the fugitives.' Four days before he had looked forward to early death with dismay. 'Now, God be praised, I die happy.' These were his words as his spirit escaped in the blaze of his glory. Night, silence, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, the sure inspiration of genius, had been his allies; his battle field, high over the ocean river was the grandest theatre for illustrious deeds. His victory, one of the most momentous in the annals of mankind, gave to the English tongue and the institutions of the Germanic race the unexplored and seemingly infinite west and north. He crowded into a few hours actions that would have given lustre to length of life and, filling his day with greatness, completed it before its noon.

2097 **The Duke of Cumberland** The second son of George II., born 1721—died 1765. He was called the "Butcher" on account of the barbarity he showed after his single victory at Culloden (1746). Campbell alludes to him in the line —

Proud Cumberland provinces insulting the slain

At Dettingen (1743) he was wounded, while at Fontenoy (1745) and at Lawfield near Maastricht (1747) he was defeated by Marshal Saxe. In 1757 he was driven out of Hanover by the French and forced to sign the Convention of Closter Seven.

2098 **His single victory** That of Culloden. See Campbell's *Jocelyn's Warrent*.

2091 **Conway** General Henry Seymour Conway (1720-80) served with reputation in Germany during the Seven Years War. He held various high offices of state, and in 1783 was appointed Commander in Chief of the English army.

2091 **Versed** Well skilled. French *verse*, skilled.

2092 **Granby** John Manners, Marquis of Granby, the son of John, Duke of Rutland was born in 1721. He raised a regiment of foot in the Rebellion, and in 1759, being the Lieutenant General, was sent to Germany, where he served under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with great renown as General of part of the British forces at the battles of Minden, Warburg, Kirk Drenn, etc. He died in 1773.

2094 **Sackville** George Viscount Sackville was the third son of the first Duke of Dorset. He was born in 1716, and entered the army at an early age. At Dettingen and Fontenoy he dis-

tinguished himself. In 1738 he was made a Lieutenant General, but in the year following fell into disgrace for his conduct at the battle of Minden, owing to his mistaking the order, sent to him by Prince Ferdinand. He was tried by a court martial, and dismissed the service, but was restored in the next reign. He died in 1783.

2096 An imputation, etc. A charge of cowardice.

2097 Foreign general. Minden and Warburg. See note on "memorable period" (12076, above).

2102 Tacticians. Military strategists, or planners of military operations. Grk. *ta'tikos*, fit for ordering or arranging,—from *ta'ss*, I set in order or array.

2104 To vie with the first grandees. To compete with the wealthiest and most powerful nobles.

2108 Private houses. Mercantile and banking firms connected with the Companies.

2113 His Indian estate. See 12992-2001.

2132 Set himself. Deliberately went to work.

2132 To cultivate parliamentary interest. To get himself elected to Parliament and to gather a party round himself.

2136 Dependents. He purchased great properties, and his tenants, many of whom were returned for Parliament, naturally sided with him,—they are hence called his "dependents."

2138 His first attachments. See 12022 et seq.

2142 George Grenville. He was Prime Minister from 1763 to 1765, and, according to Macaulay, "the worst administration which has governed England since the Revolution was that of George Grenville." He it was who, by introducing in 1763 the Bill for taxing the American colonies, gave the occasion for the American War of Independence, which began in 1774. Born in 1712, he died in 1770.

2142 The session of Parliament.

2143 Illegal and impolitic. It was pronounced "illegal" by the Judge before whom the case was tried, and it was certainly "impolitic," as the populace began to regard him as a martyr. Had he been left alone and no notice taken of him, he would probably have fallen into obscurity.

2143 That worthless demagogue Wilkes. He was born in 1727, and received a liberal education, travelled on the continent and married a lady of fortune, from whom he was separated after a few years. He entered Parliament in 1757. In 1762 he commenced a journal called the *North Briton*, in opposition to the administration of Lord Bute, and in consequence of publishing a gross and offensive libel in No. 45 of his paper, a general warrant was issued by the Secretary of State to seize him and his papers, and he was accordingly committed to the Tower. In a

few days, however, he was brought, by *Writ of Habeas Corpus* before the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who decided that general warrants were *illegal*, and he was consequently discharged, amidst the general rejoicing of the populace. The burning of No. 45 by the hands of the hangman in November 1763 occasioned a riot. Meritum Wilkes was again prosecuted for publishing an obscene poem called an *Essay on Woman*, and, not appearing was outlawed. He resided in France till 1768. He was, in that year, elected for Middlesex, but, on attempting to return to England and take his seat, was committed to prison. Finally, being in prison at the time, after his fifth election for Middlesex, he was permitted to sit in Parliament. He died in 1797.

2146 **Horace Walpole** The third son of Robert Walpole (see 1050). Horace was born in 1717. As a man of letters, satirist, novelist critic and retailer of public and private gossip, Horace Walpole is one of the most characteristic figures of the eighteenth century.

2147 **Elevation** To the rank of a peer.

2148 **Levee** This word is pronounced *levé* not *levi*.

2152 **Your Majesty will have another vote** An allusion to the party which the King had formed in a fruitless attempt to restore the personal power of the sovereign.

2158 **Anomaly** An 'anomaly' is a deviation from rule. Gk.  $\alpha\ \alpha\ \alpha\ \alpha\ \alpha$  (*anomalos*) from "anomalos, uneven. The anomaly alluded to is that there should be an *imperium in imperio*, or a government within a government. This anomaly no longer exists, the government having been transferred from the Company to the Crown, after the Indian Mutiny, in 1858. Metaphorically regarded the government of the Company is "bene ficial."

2160 **Board of Control** Pitt brought a Bill into Parliament for appointing a Board of Control, which Bill was passed on the 18th May 1784. The Board was established for the purpose of aiding and controlling the executive government of India, and of superintending the territorial concerns of the East India Company. The Act was amended and the Board remodelled in 1793. The President of the Board was a chief minister of the Crown, and necessarily one of the members of the Cabinet. This Board, of which Macaulay obviously thought very highly, was abolished in 1858 when the government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown.

2163 **Court of Proprietors** The general meeting of holders of East India stock was so called.

2168 **A Westminster election** Election of a member of Parliament for that portion of London called "Westminster —

so called on account of its Western situation with regard to St Paul's Cathedral, or from there being formerly a monastery named Eastminster on the hill now called Great Tower Hill. Westminster proper at Old Temple Bar. In 1800, Westminster and London were 1 mile asunder, they are now, of course, contiguous.

The elections at Westminster were carried on in the days of Clive with great violence.

2170 A Grampound election. Grampound, a Parliamentary borough in Cornwall, was disfranchised in 1821 for bribery and corrupt practices in 1819. Sir Maurice Lopez, returned for this borough and convicted of bribery, was sentenced in 1820, by the Court of King's Bench, to a fine of £10,000 and two years' imprisonment.

2172 Fictitious votes. Votes that did not belong to the "nominal proprietors," but belonged to Clive and other wealthy men.

2181 A writer. It was apparently still the custom to style junior civilians "writers" in the time of Macaulay.

2185 A great quantity of wealth, etc. We must remember that this essay was written half a century ago, and is not, owing to the loss by exchange, and the high price of everything in these days, by any means true now.

2189 Only four or five high political offices. The Viceroy, the Governors of the several Presidencies, the Judges of the High Courts, and the legal member of the Viceroy's Council, for example.

2189 Residences. Such as those of Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin, Mysore, and others, in Northern India.

2190 The Sadler Courts. The courts called till some twenty years ago *Sadder Adalat*, or, more correctly, *Sadr Adalat* (Arabic from *sadr*, chief, supreme, and *adl*, justice). The *Sadr Adalat* was the Supreme Court, the name of the highest court established under the East India Company in each Presidency, and consisting each of two sides, known as the *Sadr Darwan Adalat* or Chief Civil Court, and the *Sadr Nazam* (or *Faujdar*) *Adalat*, the Chief Criminal Court. The High Courts have taken the place of the *Sadr Adalats*.

2190 Regular door. The "regular door" is now the Indian Civil Service examination. Formerly the entrance into the Civil Service of India was by nomination and subsequent training at Haileybury College.

2201 Leadenhall Street, etc. at the India House, which was situated in this street.

2204 Pigot. This was Lord Pigot, who came to Madras about 1783, and, after having risen to the post of President, returned to

England with a fortune of 40 lacs of rupees. He, like Clive, was honoured with an Irish peerage. He was imprisoned by his Council for certain high handed proceedings in 1777 (when, for the second time, he was Governor of Fort St George) and sunk under his misfortunes in April of the same year, after a confinement, by no means rigorous, of eight months. See Marshman's *History of India* part 1 pp 380-81.

2205 A lottery office. A place where you might draw a great prize.

2206 Ducal. Such as Dukes are popularly supposed to possess, though many of them, nowadays, are very badly off.

2209 A Lieutenant Colonel. Clive, alluding to the quit rent of Bengal bestowed upon him by Meer Jaffer. See p 53.

2210 Earl of Bath. At this time William Pittenev (1682-1764). He was of good family, and inherited a very large fortune. He is mentioned as a contemporary rich man.

2210 Marquess of Rockingham. Charles Watson Wentworth, who succeeded his father in the Marquisate in 1750. He was born 1730 and died in 1782. From his great wealth and influential position, he was early recognised as one of the chiefs of the Whig party. His career was a consistent and noble one. In 1782 he became Prime Minister for the second time, and negotiations with the American colonies were opened on a broad and liberal basis, which soon resulted in peace between the two countries never since broken.

2214 The South Sea Year. The particular year referred to is 1720. The success of the South Sea scheme had developed a spirit of speculation in the nation. Companies of all kinds were formed, and the public hastened to subscribe to sell their shares at a premium and to buy others. A frenzy of gambling and stock jobbing took possession of the nation. Many of the schemes formed were fraudulent or visionary. The South Sea Company, whose own shares were at 800 per cent premium, took action against some of the bubble companies and exposed them. This produced an instantaneous effect. A panic set in everybody was now anxious to sell. All shares fell at once and the South Sea Company's own stock fell in a month (September 1790) from 1,000 to 175. The ruin was widespread, and extended to all classes of the nation.

2217 The preponderating party. The more influential party.

2219 Sullivan. Marshman spells his name Sullivan,—which is the more usual form.

2223 Exactly the same authority from which. There is here an idiomatic ellipsis of "as that" after the word "authority".

2237 Chancery. The Court of Chancery, the highest court next to that of Parliament, had its origin in the desire to render

justice complete, and to moderate the rigour of other courts that are bound to the strict letter of the law. It gives relief to or against 'infants,' notwithstanding their minority, and to or against married women, notwithstanding their coverture. And all frauds, deceptions, breaches of trust and confidence, for which there is no redress at common law, are redressable here—*Blackstone*

2239 2313 This paragraph contains a frightful picture of the misgovernment in Bengal in the year 1763

2244 As Clive once said. In his *Speech on the East India Judicature Bill* (March 30th, 1772) — 'Now the banyan (native trader and money lender) is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him to day, gold to morrow, jewels the next day, and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is trade. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it'

The same expression occurs in Byron's *Epigram on two Monopoles* let's —

Bone and skin two million then  
Would starve us all or near it  
But be it known to Skin and Bone  
That *Flesh and Blood* now *has* it

2246 III informed There were no telegraphs in those days, and it took eighteen months to get a reply to a despatch, so it is no wonder the Company was "ill informed"

2248 The Roman Proconsul Lucius Lucullus Lucullus, a Roman Consul and Commander born about B.C. 115 celebrated for his military talents and luxurious style of living. He was renowned as the conqueror of Mithridates. On occasion of a mutiny of his soldiers, who accused him of avarice and covetousness, he was deprived of the chief command and recalled. From that time Lucullus led a private life, spending in magnificent feasts, splendid gardens, parks, and fish ponds and all kinds of luxurious indulgence the immense riches he had brought with him from Asia. He did not, however, abandon the more noble and serious occupations of a cultivated mind. He died about B.C. 57. The student is referred for a fuller account of him to Plutarch's *Lives*

2252 Proconsul Among the Romans a proconsul was an officer who acted in the place of a consul without having all the powers (the imperium) of a consul. A proconsul was generally one who had held the office of consul so that the proconsulship was a continuation, though a modified one, of the consulship. Proconsuls were the usual governors of provinces

2253 A province Asia is meant

2255 On the shores of Campania Lemprière, in his *Classical*

*Dictionary*, ८१५ —“Subterraneous caves and passages were dug under the hills on the coast of Campania, and the sea water was conveyed round the house and pleasure grounds, where the fishes flocked in such abundance that not less than £25,000 worth were sold at his death.”

2257 Cameloparda Guaffes

2257 The Spanish Viceroy Cortez and Pizarro are here referred to. Of the former, Prescott, in his *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 442 (Routledge's one volume edition), ८१५ —“To borrow the language of an old historian, (he) came in the pomp and glory, not so much of a great vassal, as of an independent monarch.”

2258 Lima “Lima,” the chief city of Peru, is put for Peru. See Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*.

2259 Sumpter This is one of a very small class of peculiar words which are always used in a restricted sense. Sumpter is always attached to the word “horse” or “mule,” similarly “condign” always goes with the word “punishment.” “Samplio, a pack horse, is an extension from the middle English, *somer*, a pack horse.” See Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*.

2259 Trapped Decked, adorned

2260 Outdone Exceeded in extravagant magnificence

2264 They pulled down Meer Jaffer, etc. The student so strongly recommended to read Malabar's *History*, put : ८१५, BENGAL, 1761-72, in connection with this portion of Macaulay's Essay.

2273 A massacre surpassing in atrocity etc. “The reverse at Gheerah,” ८१५. Malabar, “threw Meer Cusum (or Cosum) into a prison of 1१७, and he gave way to the ferocity of his disposition. Ramanaryum, the deposed governor of Patna, was cast into the river with weights attached to his neck. Raja Rybullab, the former governor of Dacca, was put to death with all his sons. The Moorhedahs' bunkers were thrown into the Ganges from one of the bastions of the fort of Monghir. One of their favourite servants, the faithful Chunee, begged permission to share their fate, and when his request was denied, plunged into the river, determined not to survive them. Early in the month of November, the English army carried the entrenched camp at Oodavullah, and the Nabob fled to Patna. But before his departure he ordered his officers to proceed to the house where all his European prisoners were confined, and put them to death without distinction. They nobly replied that they were soldiers and not executioners. ‘Turn them out,’ they said, ‘with arms in their hands, and we will fight them to the death.’ But there was in the camp one Walter Raymond, who had been a serjeant in the French service, and now, under the name of Sumoo, held a commission in the Nabob's army, who came

forward and offered to do the bloody deed. The wretch proceeded to the house with a file of soldiers, and poured in volley after volley through the venetian windows upon the defenceless victims, tall forty-eight gentlemen—among whom was Mr Eliu—and 100 soldiers lay stretched on the floor. Patna was captured on the 6th of November, and the campaign ended in four months by the flight of Meer Cassim to the Court of the Nabob Vizier. See also Wheeler's *Tales from Indian History*, p. 148.

2278 Give up as a prey. A Biblical expression.

2284 Fiscal. Revenue. Old French *fiacre*, the public purse, from Lat. *facus*, a basket of rushes, also a purse.

2286 Armed with. Possessed of.

2294 They found the little finger etc. Another Biblical expression. See 1 Kings, iii. 10. The meaning is, that if they found Surajah Daulah's government oppressive, they found the government of the Company ten times more so.

2305 The hereditary nobility of manhood. Cf. Goldsmith's *Traveller*.

Pride in their port defiance in their eye  
I see the lords of human kind pass by

2316 Formed in the school of Clive. Trained to be soldiers under Clive.

2320 The Mussulman historian of those times. Saïd Gholam Ho san Khan who wrote the history of the last seven Emperors of Hindustan, and of the English wars in Bengal down to 1783.

2322 Past all question. Undeniable, undisputable.

2332 O God! come to the assistance. This passage is said to be from *The Koran*.

2341 Every mess room. The mess room is the general dining hall of the officers of a regiment. To every regiment there is attached a "Mess," as it is called,—which is really a sort of military club. The meaning of the text is, till the officers of every regiment were joining in conspiracy and cabal.

2341 Cabal. The old derivation of this word may now be said to be exploded. Skeat gives the following—"Originally a 'secret' French *cabale*, 'the Jewish Cabal, a hidden science,' Hebrew *qabbalah*, reception, mysterious doctrine."

2342 The sepoy could be kept etc. In 1764 a mutiny broke out at Purna, which Major Munro put down with a strong hand, blowing twenty men from the guns. See *Marshall's*, part 1, chapter 11, p. 305.

2352 Verres. The notorious Praetor of Sicily, who was brought to trial for his crimes, and who fled from the withering eloquence of Cicero. He perished B.C. 43 in a proscription.

2353 Pizarro. See note on l. 6 (*Atahualpa*).



2359 Trembling for their dividends Fearing lest they should lose the interest on their investments in the Company

2361 Which had been adopted, etc See l 2336 p 68

2364 Clive rose Note the dramatic effect of these words and observe the short and terse sentences in the paragraph A less forcible writer would have said "At this juncture Clive rose to address the meeting"

2382 Absolute master As chairman, Sullivan, or Sullivan, had the Board of Directors completely under his thumb, and his will was law

2400 An infant son "Infant" in the English sense of not yet being of legal age A man is legally an "infant" in England up to the age of twenty one Nujum ood dowlah, who was not yet twenty one Mirakman (part i ch vi) says — "He was required to make donations to the members of the Council to the extent of 50 lacs of rupees The oppressions and scandals of those days put an Englishman to the blush, and make him proud of the absolute purity of modern administrations Hindus must remember that, bad as the English of those days were, their own rulers were worse in many respects

2403 To an intimate friend General Currie

2411 Searcher of all hearts See i Chronicles xlviii 9

2422 Cowed Dishonoured, subdued Dimish law, to coerce, subdue

2424 All the faces round the board etc An idiomatic phrase, meaning "all the Councillors were terrified" by Clive's firmness not knowing what steps he might take against them, when he so easily subdued their most turbulent member

2426 Redeemed his pledge That he would correct the abuses he found See l 2114

2432 Connive at Pretend ignorance of, overlook

2444 He had chosen the good part An expression found in the Bible, Luke x 42

2476 Sir Thomas Roe Despatched by James I in 1615 to the Court of the Great Mogul, where he remained three years See note on l 400

2481 Great wages to their content High pay so that they may be contented The expression in the text is quaint and in the style of those days,—the age of Bacon and Shalpeare

2482 What you part from What you spend

2485 The pay a year This was, of course, far too little

2490 Against In preparation for

2496 Proconsuls, propretors, etc Roman governors with various powers

2503 Clive saw clearly, etc Note the epigrammatic turn of this sentence It would be a good thing if the various Govern

ment of India was thus equally clearly, and paid their Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors and other, even higher functionaries, on a more liberal scale.

2513 The monopoly of salt. Government still possess the monopoly of, or the sole power to manufacture and sell, salt.

2514 Has been accused by historians. Mill and Thornton Macaulay show clearly the gross injustice of such accusation.

2520 He put an end to the practices. By enforcing the execution of "covenants" laid down by the Directors in their letter, which was despatched from London in June 1764, and reached Calcutta on January 24th, 1765. In that letter it was expressly stated that "all persons in the Company's trade should execute covenants (agreements) restraining them from accepting, directly or indirectly, from the Indian princes, any grant of lands, rents or territorial dominion, or any present whatever, exceeding the value of Rs. 4000, without the consent of the Court of Directors."

2542 Even Cesar. The type of a stern and unflinching commander. See Plutarch's *Life of Julius Caesar*.

2543 Gave commissions, etc. Appointed mercantile agents as officer in command.

2561 Cashiered. Dismissed from the service with ignominy. This is the most severe form of punishment, short of death, that can be suffered by an officer. Lat. *causus*, void, null, but through the German *crachen*, to cashier, and the French *craser*, to break.

2569 One of the conspirators. A Lieutenant Sturmsforth.

2776 The Nibob of Oude. Surgh ud Dowlah. "With regard," says Mackenzie (part 1, chapter 11, p. 310), "to the Nawab Vizier, he had invaded Behar without the least provocation, on the mere impulse of cupidity, but his power had been irretrievably crushed by the battle of Burh, the capture of Lucknow and a second defeat at Corah. Seeing his fortunes desperate, he repaired to the camp of General Clive, and threw himself on the consideration of the English authorities. His kingdom was forfeited by the laws of war and the usage of his country, but Clive evinced his moderation by restoring it to him, with the exception of the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were reserved for the Emperor. Such an instance of generosity in a victorious enemy was unknown in India, and excited emotions of the deepest gratitude. The Emperor, though he had appeared in arms against the English at the battle of Burh, was gratified with the revenues of the two districts assigned to him, which, with the annual payment of 26 lacs of rupees from Bengal and Behar, for which he was likewise indebted to the kindness of the English chief, constituted his whole dependence."

"After the completion of these arrangements, Clive requested

that the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, which the Emperor had repeatedly offered to the Company, should be conferred on them by an imperial firman. The Act was completed on the 12th of August, 1765,—a memorable day in the political and constitutional history of British India.

2589 The Western Empire and Augustus. The Roman Empire was divided into Eastern and Western by Diocletian in A.D. 286, but was reunited under Constantine in A.D. 340. It was again divided by Valentinian and Valens in A.D. 364, the former having the Western portion, or Rome, and the latter the Eastern or Byzantine Empire. The allusion in the text will be best explained by the following from Hutton's *Dictionary of Dates*:

- A.D. 457 Julius Valerius Maximianus murdered at the instance of his minister, Ricimer, who raises  
 461 Labius Severus to the throne, but holds the supreme power, Severus poisoned by Ricimer.  
 463 [Interregnum. Ricimer retains the authority, without assuming the title of Emperor].  
 467 Anthemius chosen by the joint suffrages of the senate and army, murdered by Ricimer, who dies soon after.  
 472 Flavius Aetius Olybius slain by the Goths soon after his accession.  
 473 Glycerius forced to abdicate by his successor.  
 474 Julius Nepos deposed by his general, Orestes, and retires to Venice.  
 475 Romulus (called Augustulus, or little Augustus), son of Orestes. Orestes is slain, and the Emperor deposed by  
 476 Odoacer, king of the Heruli. Odoacer assumes the style of King of Italy, and completes the fall of the Western Empire.

2591 Ricimer and Odoacer. Count Ricimer was the son of the daughter of Walth, King of the Visigoths. On his father's side he was descended from the nation of the Suevi.

Odoacer was the son of one of Attila's officers, who fell in battle against the Ostrogoths. After the death of Attila, Odoacer for some time led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, but was afterwards admitted into the service of the Western Empire and soon attained the highest rank. See the *Student's Guide*, ch. viii, for a fuller account of Ricimer and Odoacer and the extinction of the Western Empire.

2594 Caesar and Augustus. The well known names of the two first rulers of Rome. Caesar never was Emperor, but his nephew Octavian, under the style of Augustus Caesar, became Emperor in B.C. 27.

2307 Theodoric King of the O-groths Odoscer was, by his order, re-assassinated at a solemn banquet, and he thus became master of Italy, "with" as Gibbon says, "the tardy, reluctant and ambiguous consent of the Emperor of the East." See the *Student's Gibbon*, pp 281-82

2598 The distant court of Byzantium At this time Anastasius I, the husband of Arvine, was the Emperor of the East. He reigned for twenty-seven years (A.D. 491-518). Byzantium is the ancient name of Constantinople.

2605 A few Persian characters Persian was the language of the court in the reigns of the Moguls.

2612 The last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics Chilperic II was king of Neustria, or Western France. He was deposed by Charles Martel, a Mayor of the Palace. There were three Childerics, the last was called *the Idiot*, and was, by the decision of Pope Zachary, degraded, shaved and confined in a monastery for the short remainder of his life. With him the Merovingian dynasty disappeared from the earth. Pepin of Herstal, 687-714, Mayor of the Palace, practically resumed the government. He was succeeded by Charles Martel (*the Hammer*), 714-41. Pepin le Bref (*the Short*), in 752, after the actual deposition and confinement of Childeric, *the Idiot*, mounted the throne. He founded the Carolingian dynasty, and was succeeded by his celebrated son Charlemagne. See *Student's Gibbon*, p. 435.

2625 Still resides at Moorshedabad, etc. This was still true a few years ago.

2649 Peremptorily Decisively Lat. *per*, utterly, *emere*, to take peremptorily, destructive, decisive.

2651 The facts did not come to light. Nothing was ever known about the matter.

2656 Churlish. Boorish, rude.

2667 He made the whole over, etc. The "whole" amounted to £62,833. The Nawab gave a further sum of £37,700 for the same purpose.

2669 Still bears his name. Clive's Fund is well known in India.

2696 The name of Nabobs. Nabob is a corruption of *Nawab*.

2713 Farmer general (French, *Fermiers généraux*). These were officers who farmed the French revenues previous to 1789, frequently with great oppression. Lavoisier and twenty-seven of these farmer-general were executed in 1794.

2717 Jacobins. A violent set of French agitators in the time of the great Revolution in France. They were so called because they met in an old convent of the Jacobins. The name is applied to any violent agitators.

2717 *East Indians* Used here to mean those who had lived in the East Indies. We restrict the term now to those of mixed parentage. The word "Canarians" is being substituted for East Indians even in this sense.

2727 *From fresh eggs to rotten boroughs* This is a good example of "epigram," which consists in a witty or ingenious turn of thought.

By the expression "rotten boroughs" is meant small towns retaining a member to Parliament through the personal influence and wealth of some great man. The Acts of June 1832 and of August 1876 amended Parliamentary representation, and "rotten boroughs" do not now exist.

2729 *That of the Lord Mayor* It would be better English to say "the carriage of the Lord Mayor."

2729 *Lord Mayor* The prefix 'Lord' is peculiar to the chief civic officers of London, Dublin, Edinburgh and York. The Lord Mayor's show alluded to in the text was instituted by Sir John Norman in 1453.

2732 *Catch the time, etc.* Learn to speak and act like gentlemen.

2733 *The stud* The hunters and race horses in their stables.

2734 *The plate* The silver dishes, foil, etc., with which the tables were covered at meal times.

2734 *Dresden china* A very fine and expensive kind of earthenware or porcelain made near Dresden. 'China, earthen ware or porcelain so called because originally made in China.'

2735 *The Burgundy* A fine French wine from Burgundy, in France.

2740 *Eclipse* Make a more brilliant display than.

2740 *Lord lieutenant* Give us himself, at one time, Lord-Lieutenant of Shropshire. See 13069.

2741 *To carry the county* To get himself returned for Parliament as the county member.

2742 *The Domesday Book* Otherwise spelt *Domes Day Book* or *Dooms Day Book*. The origin of the name is not quite certain, but it is most likely connected with the Saxon "dom boc" (*liber judiciale*) because every case of appeal was decided by a reference to these registers.

It is a book of the general survey of England, commenced in the reign of William I, 1086 (some say 1085), and completed in 1086. It was intended to be a register to determine the right in the tenure of estates, and from it the question whether lands be ancient demesne or not, is still sometimes decided. This book, formerly kept in the Chapter house of Westminster, is now in the public record office. It consists of two volumes, a greater and less, wherein all the counties of England, except Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland

and Cumberland, are surveyed ' This Dome day boyl, '33; Camden, ' was the try boyl of King William

2702 *Turcaret* The hero of a comedy by Le Sage (1704) In this comedy the farmers general (see note on l 2713, above) are unmercifully gibbeted Turcaret is a coarse, illiterate man who has grown rich by his trade

2703 *Nero* Born A.D. 37—died A.D. 68 The Emperor of Rome, well known for his cruelty and licentiousness The type of all that is bad in man Nathaniel Lee (1675) wrote a tragedy with the title of *Nero*

2704 *Monsieur Jourdain* A character in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* He is an elderly tradesman who has suddenly come into a large fortune, and wishes to educate himself up to his new position in society He employs masters to teach him dancing, fencing, philology, and so on The fun of the drama turns on the ridiculous remarks that he makes and the awkward figure he cuts as the pupil of these professors One remark is especially noted he says he had been talking "prose" all his life, and never knew it till his professor told him

2705 *Richard III* One of Shakespeare's tragedies is so called from this king being the chief character in it (1597)

2706 *Puritans* During the course of the English Reformation, a difference sprang up between the moderate Reformers and those who tried to make the forms and ceremonies of religious worship as simple as possible The attempt to impose certain external forms and ceremonies gave rise to more open discussion "The English bishops" (writes Fuller, under date 1564) "conceiving themselves empowered by their canons began to show their authority in urging the clergy of their dioceses to subscribe to the liturgy, ceremonies and discipline of the Church and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of 'Puritans'"

2707 *The Dilettante* This word should be in the plural, *Dilettanti* A society formed of lovers of the fine arts,—originally established in 1734

2708 *The Macaroni* A club of eccentric fops formed towards the end of the eighteenth century

2709 *Black balled* On their being put up for membership of the club they were not elected, being voted against by means of black balls in the ballot-box

2710 *Methodists* A religious body, sometimes called Wesleyans, because they follow the teaching of John Wesley

2711 *Lighter literature* Plays, novels, etc

2712 *Footes* brought on the stage, etc The reference is to Footes Comedy called the *Nabob* Samuel Footes was a comic actor and playwright of this period Born 1728—died 1777

2770 **Chairman** This word contains an allusion to one of the customs of the times,—the being carried in sedan chairs. See Chambers' *Book of Days*.

2772 **Jargon** Unintelligible talk. The passage from Foote's play is as follows [Sir Matthew Mite sends a proposal to marry Sir John Oldham's daughter] —

"*Thomas* (reading) — 'Secondly, as Sir Matthew is bent upon a large territorial acquisition in England, and Sir John Oldham's finances are at present a little out of repair, Sir Matthew Mite will make up the money already advanced in another name by way of future mortgage on his estate, for the entire purchase, five lak's of r upras.'

"*Sir John Oldham* — But, brother Thomas, these same lak's,—to what way they amount?

"*Thomas* — Fifty thousand at least. (Reads) 'Or, if it should be more agreeable to the parties, Sir Matthew will settle upon Sir John and his Lady, for their joint lives, a jaghure.'

"*Sir John* — A jaghure!

"*Thomas* — The term is Indian, and means an annual income.

"*Lady Oldham* — What strange 'jargon' he deals in!

"*Thomas* — His style is a little oriental, I must own, but most exceedingly clear.

"*Lady Oldham* — Yes, to Cossim Ali Khan, or Meer Jaffer. I hope you are near the conclusion.

"*Thomas* — But two articles more. (Reads) 'And that the principals may have no care for the younger parts of their families, Sir Matthew will, at his own expense, bring out the two young ladies, Miss Oldham's two sisters, to Madras or Calcutta, and there procure them suitable husbands. And as for the three boys, they shall be either made supercargoes, ship's husbands, or go out culets and writers in the Company's service.'

2772 **Jaghures** (Hindi, from the Persian *jāz*, a place, and *gh*, taking) The revenues from a village or district assigned to any person, generally bestowed for some service rendered.

2773 **Henry Mackenzie** (1745-1831) An essayist, novelist and dramatist. He is best known for his novel, *The Man of Feeling*. He was the chief contributor to the series of papers called the *Mirror* and the *Loanger*, and it is to No. 31 of the *Loanger* that Macaulay refers.

2776 **Cowper** (1731-1800) The well known poet.

2777 **In that lofty expostulation** The reference is to the passage addressed to England, in his poem called *Expostulation*, ll. 365-76 —

First thou, though shack'd at far Freedom's breast,  
Exerpted thine to the conquer'd East,  
Pul'd down the tyrants India serv'd with dread,  
And ruin'd thyself, a greater, in their stead?  
Gone thither armed and hungry, return'd full,  
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,  
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,  
And that obtained by rapine and by sterility?

With Asvins vices stored thy mind  
And left their virtues and thine own behind  
And, having tracked thy soul, brought home the fee,  
To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee

2784 Sixty years ago That is, in the year 1780

2785 Odium This word occurs twice in this paragraph. The first time it occurs it means "ill will," "hatred," which is, of course, the ordinary meaning of the word, the second time it means "burden of offence" (l. 2820)

2793 Claremont A palace in Surrey, built by Sir John Vanbrugh. It was the seat successively of the Earl of Clare, of Lord Clive, Lord Galloway and the Earl of Tyrawley. The Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV., who married Prince Leopold, afterwards King of the Belgians, lived at Claremont for one year, when she died (Nov. 1817) in child bed, to the intense grief of all Britain.

2799 Margery Mushroom The name under which MacKenzie wrote in the *Lancet*.

2802 In the field When engaged in military operations.

2807 Spartan temperance Under the laws of Lycurgus, the Spartans were trained to the greatest simplicity of living.

2808 Sybante Originally an inhabitant of Sybanta, a city on the Gulf of Tarentum, whose inhabitants were proverbially effeminate and luxurious, hence, metaphorically, an effeminate voluptuary.

2812 Sir John Malcolm gives us, etc. That is, Clive's biographer quotes a letter, etc.

2813 Sir Matthew Mitts A character in Foot's *Nobis*. He is a returned East India merchant, disolute, dogmatical, ashamed of his former acquaintances, hating the aristocracy, yet longing to be acknowledged by them. He squanders his wealth on toadies, dresses his servants most gorgeously, and gives the chairmen most costly evoties to wear in their coats. Sir Matthew is for ever astonishing weak minds with his talk about rupees, pies, paghrees, and so on. See the quotation to the note on l. 2772.

2818 Black stories Tales regarding fearful crimes.

2832 Johnson. Born 1709—died 1784, the well known lexicographer.

2832 Held this language Spoke in this way of Clive. See Bowdler's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Nisbet, vol. iii., p. 349.

2833 Lancelotti Brown. An eminent horticulturist, who obtained the name of "Capability" Brown, from a word often used by him when consulted on the laying out of grounds. He was employed by all the wealthiest men of the day, and realised a considerable fortune (1715-83).



2843 *Gaping jaws* The rusties who opened their mouths wide with astonishment at the stories told of Clive

2845 William Huntington, SS A vulgar and uncultivated preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists (1744-1813) He gave the following explanation of the letters which he appended to his name—"As I cannot get a DD for the want of cash, neither can I get an MA for the want of learning, therefore I am compelled to fly for refuge to SS, by which I mean Sinner Saved." He wrote twenty volumes containing much poor theology and many curious anecdotes The portrait of this remarkable impostor, by Pellegriani is in the National Portrait Gallery

2883 *Engrossing all the rice* This use of the word "engrossing" is peculiar, but according to Stormonth, the primary signification of the word is "to buy up a commodity in order to increase the price, —which is exactly what Ventruly means" It is from the French *engrosser*, to make great, to increase, to enlarge The usual meaning is to occupy, or take possession of, to the exclusion of all else —is "to engross the conversation," "to engross one's thoughts" The verb 'engross,' to copy in a full large hand, is from the French *grossir*, to write in great and full letter Both words are apparently "from the French *engros*, in large Latin *in, in*, and *grossus*, large"

2899 *Corn factors* Agents who buy up corn to sell it again at a profit

2901 Adam Smith The celebrated author of the *Wealth of Nations* He may be fairly said to have founded the science of Political Economy (1723-90)

2926 The strange malady Gout In the opening paragraph of *Ventruly's Essay on William Pitt*, he says of the Earl of Chatham "a cruel malady racked his joints, and left his joints only to fall on his knees and brain"

2931 The breach between Mr Pitt (first Earl of Chatham) and the Great Whig connection This was on the subject of the American colonies, on which subject Pitt held the clearest and best views, and if his advice had been followed, the separation would never have taken place when it did From first to last he was the consistent friend of the colonists

2934 *Delusive fall* It seemed as if everything had quieted down, but this was mere delusion

2936 The Middlesex election Alluding to the election of Wilkes for this county

2942 He was hated, etc This is mere repetition See previous paragraph

2952 The opposition The party opposed to the Government The Government are called "the Ministry," and those who are not in power "the Opposition"

2963 His spurs chopped off Degraded One of the old medieval ways of degrading a knight was to chop off his gilt spurs, one of the insignia of knighthood

2968 With everything at stake With everything to lose A metaphor from gambling

2975 The ghost of his former self Worn out by illness and mental anxiety

2976 The scene, etc That is, the "House of Commons," in which he had formerly been the leader

As Earl of Chatham, his seat was at that time in the House of Lords, which he entered in 1766

2998 Like a sheep stealer Like the lowest kind of thief

3018 The Houses rose The two Houses of Parliament adjourned

3032 He was now called in question A Biblical phrase See Acts, vi, 40

3033 Set-off A counter claim

3034 Desert Accent on the second syllable

3035 Sold beer, etc This was an offence against the law in Victoria's time

3038 A Newfoundland dog A variety of dog of a very large size, originally from Newfoundland, remarkable for its sagacity

3061 Bruce the deliverer, etc Every one of these great men has been charged with crimes of various kinds, but the great services they performed for their country and times make us willing to overlook, in some cases, very serious blemishes in their characters

3051 Bruce Born 1274—died 1329 A Scotch gentleman of very high rank who opposed John Balliol for the crown of Scotland He stabbed Comyn to death See Scott's *Lord of the Isles* and any History of England, reigns of Edward I, II and III

3052 Maurice Duke of Saxony, of the line of Albert, son of Frederick II of Saxony Born 1521, Elector 1541, died 1553

3052 William of Orange, called "the Silent" Born 1553—died 1684

3053 His great descendant William III of England

3054 Murray James Stuart Earl of Murray, was the natural son of James V of Scotland He was born in 1533, and shot at Linlithgow in 1570 He was appointed Regent during the minority of the young King of Scotland, the son of the unhappy Mary, Queen of Scots (1567) See Scott's novel, *The Abbot*

3054 Cosmo This is Cosmo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who

was born in 1510. He was the son of Giovanni de Medici, and on the assassination of Alessandro, chief of the house of Medici, was elected head of the Republic of Florence, though strenuously opposed by a party who favoured the Florentine exiles. Cosmo made himself absolute master of Florence, liberty was wholly lost and terror was inspired by a system of espionage, by torture and even by secret assassination. While he kept his subjects slaves, he made the State free from foreign interference, and enlarged it by fresh acquisitions, till Tuscany was, for the first time, united under one ruler. Several attempts were made to strike the power of Cosmo but he succeeded in defeating them. He restored the University of Pisa and held out the most liberal encouragement to men of scientific and literary eminence. He also founded the Academy of Florence, established its gallery of paintings, and performed many other wise and honourable actions. After a prosperous reign of thirty four years, he died in 1574.

3065 Henry IV (of France) Commonly called Henry of Navarre Born 1553—died 1610

3066 Peter the Great The celebrated Czar of Russia Born 1672—died January 1725

3067 To go to extremes against him To treat him with the greatest severity

3068 Knight of the Bath The order of the Bath is said to be of early origin, but it was formally constituted on 11th October 1399 by Henry IV two days before his coronation in the Tower. Up to 1847, that order was exclusively military, but by new statutes it was then thrown open to distinguished civilians.

3069 Henry VII's Chapel A chapel in Westminster Abbey built by King Henry VII, of which the first stone was laid on 24th January 1502.

3070 At length the charges came Colonel Burgoyne charged Clive with high crimes and misdemeanours especially with reference to his conduct towards Surajah Daulah and Omichund. He concluded his address to the House by moving the following resolutions—

(1) That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the State. (2) That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the State is illegal. (3) That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of that country, by persons entrusted with the civil and military powers of the State, by means of such power, which sums of money and valuable

property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons—*Malcolm's Life of Clive*, in 330

Clive concluded his defence of himself in these words—"If the record of my services at the India House, if the defence I have twice made in this House, and if the approbation I have already met with, is not an answer to the attack that has been made upon me, I certainly can make none —*Id. ibid.*, p. 334

3077 *Burgoyne* Colonel John Burgoyne commanded the English force (1769) sent to aid Portugal against Spain. He served with distinction during the American war, but was at last defeated by the American general, Gates, in 1777. Died August 1798

3082 *Open questions* Unless a "question or subject of debate in the House was a distinct Government measure, members were not in any way, pledged to vote with the ministry or against it. The question then before the House was an open one, and members were free to take either side. Thus on this case of Clive's, members of the Government were found on opposite sides

3085 *Thurlow* Edward, Lord Thurlow. He was born about 1732 and died in 1806. Was successively Solicitor and Attorney General and Lord Chancellor. He was a man of stern manner, and of inflexible integrity

3086 *Wedderburne* Alexander Wedderburne became, like Thurlow, successively Solicitor and Attorney General and Lord Chancellor. On the termination of his office, he was created Earl of Rosslyn. He died in 1805 and was buried in St Paul's Cathedral

3090 *Warren Hastings* Born 1733—died 1818. Like Clive he entered the Company's service (at Calcutta) as a mere writer (junior civil servant) in 1750. In 1769 he was appointed second in Council at Madras, and two years afterwards became President of the Supreme Council of Bengal. See any good History of India, and especially Macaulay's essay entitled *Warren Hastings*

3106 *Obtained large sums from Meer Jaffer* This modified motion was brought forward by Wedderburne in these words—"That certain sums (here named) had been obtained by Lord Clive on the establishment of Meer Jaffer, and that Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country."

This resolution, which was passed, stops short, it will be seen, of censure

3108 *They voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism, etc.* A syllogism is a form of argument logically constructed in three parts, called (1) the major premiss, (2) the minor premiss, (3) the conclusion. See *Jeon's Elementary Logic*

Burgoyne's syllogism may be briefly and logically stated thus —

It is wrong, ( illegal ) for a subject to make acquisitions under the influence of a military force or by treaty, etc. (*Major premiss*)  
 Clive being a subject, made such acquisitions, etc. (*Minor premiss*)  
 Clive did wrong (*Conclusion*) This 'conclusion' they did not draw

If the House had passed a third resolution, drawing the conclusion from the two resolutions already passed, Clive would have been censured. Thus they "shrank from doing."

3111 The previous question. In English parliamentary usage, the previous question is "an ingenious mode of avoiding a vote on any question which is proposed" (*May's Parliamentary Practice*). When a question (i.e. a formulated resolution) is about to be put by the Speaker of the House of Commons, a member may interpose by moving that the same question "be now put," and if this be carried, then the object of the mover is gained and the main question cannot be put at that time.

By the expression "previous question" is meant whether the question shall be put at all.

3121 Jenkinson. Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool. Born in 1727—died 1808. He held various high offices of state. He was a great favourite with George III., and was often accused of being one of his secret advisers.

3131 L'bourdonnais. A French statesman and naval commander born 1699—died 1753. In 1746 he took Madras from the English and forced them to raise the siege of Pondicherry. After a quarrel with Duplax, he returned to France, was arrested, and imprisoned in the great State prison at Paris called the Bastille.

3131 The Bastille. Originally a castle built by Charles V. of France, in 1369 for the defence of Paris against the English. In the great Revolution of 1789, the Bastille was destroyed by the populace.

3134 Lally. He was of Irish descent, though born in France. He distinguished himself greatly at Fontenoy. In 1756 he was Governor of Pondicherry, where he suffered some severe defeats, and was compelled to surrender the town to the English in 1761. On this account public clamour was so high against him that on his return home he was, by a most iniquitous sentence, beheaded in May 1766.

3142 Voltairo. A very celebrated French writer. He lived chiefly at Ferney, a French village on the borders of Switzerland about five miles from Geneva. Voltairo's real name was *Arouet*, but he early assumed that of "Voltaire," which is believed by Carlyle to be an anagram of Arouet, 1 J., that is, *le jeune* (the

young) See Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, and Vulture, in *Foreign Classics for English Readers*. Born 1684—died 1778

3146 Dr Moore Dr John Moore was born at Stirling in 1730 and died in 1802. He was physician to the Duke of Hamilton, with whom he lived on the continent for five years. In 1778 he settled in London, and published his travels in two vols. He also wrote several other books. Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, was his son.

3151 Pungently Sharply, satirically, in a poignant way. For this word we should now use "pungently," keenly, acutely. "Poignantly" is usually applied to suffering of some kind.

3152 The Mosiac chronology The statements regarding the date of creation, etc., in the first five books of the Bible, commonly known as the Pentateuch, and ascribed to Moses, the great law-giver of the children of Israel.

3154 Theophilanthropy Love of God and man.

3162 Thick darkness Macaulay apparently had in his mind the VIII Psalm.

3163 Which rejoiceth exceedingly, etc. Job (in chap. iii. of the Book of Job) is represented as speaking of the ease of death.

There (in the grave) the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.

There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor.

The small and great are there, and the servant is free from his master.

Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery and life unto the bitter in soul?

Which long for death but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures;

Which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find *their* grave?

3168 He called in the help of opium. He began to take opium to deaden the severe pain he suffered.

3184 It was said that he would sometimes, etc. This report of Clive is to be found in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Napier, vol. iii. p. 334.—

"Dr Robertson expatiated on the character of a certain noble man [Lord Clive], that he was one of the strongest minded men that ever lived, that he would sit in company quite sluggish, while there was nothing to call forth his intellectual vigour, but the moment that any important subject was started—for instance, how this country is to be defended against a French invasion—he would rouse himself, and show his extraordinary talents with the most powerful ability and animation."

3211 Clive committed, etc. Macaulay had a clear and judicial

mind, and the attentive student of this essay will, if he himself is fair minded, undoubtedly come to the same conclusion as Macaulay himself,—that, considering the times in which Chie lived, and the mighty temptations he was subjected to, he has, on the whole, earned a "right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity."

3218 Pedlars Petty merchants

3222 The fall of Ghazni Ghazni, or Ghazni, is a town and fortress in Afghanistan 85 miles south west of Kabul and 233 miles north east of Kandahar. It was captured during the first Afghan war in 1839.

3220 Alexander the Great Born 356 B.C.—died 323, at Babylon. When only twenty two years old, he attacked and completely defeated the Persian Satraps at the River Graneus.

3226 Condé "Louis, Prince of Condé," surnamed *the Great*. Born in 1621—died 1686. At the age of twenty two he defeated the Spaniards at the battle of Rocroi.

3228 Charles XII of Sweden. He was born in 1682 and killed at the siege of Friederichshall in 1718. Before he was twenty he had won several victories—notably the great battle of Narva, in 1700 in his nineteenth year. Peter the Great, with some 70 to 80,000 men, was totally defeated at Narva by Charles, who had only some 20,000 Swedes.

3229 Graneus A river in the north west of Asia Minor.

3229 Rocroi A place in the north of France.

3230 Narva A town in Esthonia, Russia.

3239 Gorgeous visions etc. See p. 14.

3244 Arches of triumph The Roman Senate granted what was called a "triumph" to the General of an army after he had won any great victory. He was received into the city with great magnificence and public acclamations, riding in a chariot drawn by four horses. For a minute account of the ceremony see the article "Triumphus" in *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*. See also Maclean's *Hornet*, Epode, vii 8, and the note thereon.

3244 The Sacred Way, etc. Macaulay describes, in these few words, the course pursued at Rome by the procession. Cf. —

Along the Sacred Way,  
Hither the triumph came and winding round,  
With acclamation and the martial clang  
Of instruments and cars laden with spoil  
Stopped at the sacred stair that then appeared —*Samuel Rogers*

3244 The Sacred Way The *Via Sacra*, a street in ancient Rome extending from the arch of Fabius to that of Titus.

3245 Forum. This was a large open space paved and surrounded by buildings at the base of the Capitoline and Palatine Hills in Rome. It was the great place for public debates and great trials.

3246 Tarpeian Jove, i.e. the capitol, a temple to Jupiter on the summit of the Tarpeian Rock.

3247 Antiochus. Which of the many kings bearing this name Macaulay means is not clear, but in B.C. 65 Pompey subdued Antiochus Asiaticus, King of Syria.

3248 Tigranes, King of Armenia. The son-in-law of Mithradates, King of Pontus. Lucullus defeated the allied sovereigns again, and again Pompey also defeated Mithradates B.C. 68.

3250 A Roman legion. A "legion" was a division of the Roman army, comprising ten cohorts, thirty maniples, or sixty centuries, so that if a "century" had always contained 100 men, as its name imports it should have, a legion would have contained 6,000 men. The number, however, varied somewhat.

3251 If the reproach. Here Macaulay begins his "peroration."

3259 Munro. This is Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras in 1820. He was born in 1760, and died near Gooty in 1827. There is a fine equestrian statue of Munro in the centre of Madras, on what is called "The Island." See Bradshaw's *Musee* (Rulers of India Series).

3270 Elphinstone. Mountstuart Elphinstone, after whom Sir M. E. Grant Duff, late Governor of Madras, was named, was Governor of Bombay for seven years—1820-27. Born 1772—died 1859.

3270 Metcalfe. Charles Theophilus. Born at Orizaba in 1783, died in England 1846. He held many high offices in India, and was provisional Governor General from 1835-36.

3276 Done and suffered much. A phrase reminding one of Horace's "multa tulit festaque."

3278 Trajan. A Roman Emperor who fought at Jerusalem under Vespasian and Titus. When he became Emperor, he gained many victories over the Dacians, Persians and other powers. The column called Trajan's was erected at Rome in 114 A.D., to commemorate his victories. He died A.D. 117.

3278 Turgot. Anne Robert Jacques Turgot was a celebrated French statesman, born in 1727. He did much to improve the state of France, and died in 1781.

3282 Lord William Bentinck. Governor General of India.



from 1828-30 There is a statue to him at Calcutta, on which the following inscription, written by Macaulay, is engraved —

TO  
WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK  
Who during a few years ruled India with eminent  
Prudence Integrity and Benevolence  
Who placed at the head of a great  
Empire never laid aside  
The simplicity and moderation of a private citizen  
Who infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom  
Who never forgot that the end of government is  
The happiness of the governed,  
Who abolished cruel rites,  
Who effaced humiliating distinctions  
Who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion,  
Whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual  
And moral character of  
The nations committed to his charge,  
This monument  
Was erected by men  
Who differing in Race in  
Manners in Language in Religion  
Cherish with equal veneration and gratitude  
The memory of his wise upright, and Paternal Administration

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